Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-012
Thursday
19 January 1989

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FBIS-SOV-89-012 *19 January 1989*

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Paris CW Forum, Soviet Initiative Reviewed

PM1901104389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jan 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by observer Lieutenant Colonel V. Markushin under the rubric "View of a Problem": "Chemical Threat: Eliminating It Forever"]

[Excerpts] It is no exaggeration to say that every day now brings tangible evidence of what profound changes international relations are undergoing. This week good news came from Paris, where the international conference on chemical weapons was taking place. [passage omitted]

The USSR's new initiative was the most important event of the Paris conference. The Soviet spokesman stated that as early as the current year of 1989 our country, without waiting for the conclusion of a convention, will unilaterally embark on the elimination of existing stocks of chemical weapons. This decision, the French newspaper LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS stresses, is in the mainstream of all Soviet foreign policy. "The Soviet Union has achieved a new diplomatic breakthrough," the Australian SYDNEY MORNING HERALD believes. "The new initiative is bold, simple, and direct. Compared with it, the United States' efforts seem to complicate the process excessively."

What was the reaction of the U.S. side? As a whole it was positive. Secretary of State G. Shultz, who headed the U.S. delegation at the conference, called the USSR's position "very constructive." "This is a field," he said, "in which there are opportunities to work together to achieve results which are really valuable for both countries." The opinion of G. Bush, who assumes the powers of U.S. President 20 January, and who stated that for mankind "it is absolutely necessary to rid itself of chemical weapons," would seem to be similar.

These statements by U.S. leaders seemingly cannot but instill a certain optimism. But general, high-flown phrases are obviously not enough now. Clear political will and specific actions are needed. It is these which are lacking across the ocean. The point is that the U.S. spokesmen so far prefer to speak of the arms of other countries, are accusing them of intending to produce chemical weapons, and are even threatening reprisal as is the case with regard to Libya, for instance. And Washington is displaying a completely different attitude toward its own chemical potential.

As THE NEW YORK TIMES notes, "the United States' stockpiling of chemical weapons is undermining arguments against other countries acquiring these weapons." Matthew Bann, from the association of supporters of arms control, said: "The United States is putting out a contradictory signal. We can produce chemical weapons, but other countries, like Iran, Iraq, and Libya, must not."

Naturally, having adopted the post of prosecutor and at the same time ruling out any need to take a critical look at itself, Washington cannot in this case serve as an example of goodwill. It is in fact a directly opposite example which is being set. The draft military budget for next year provides for a drastic increase in appropriations for the production of chemical weapons and systems for their delivery. This fact, the London newspaper THE GUARDIAN writes, "is generating mounting dissatisfaction in Congress in connection with the Soviet Union's announcement of its commitment to eliminate its chemical weapons stocks."

It is well-known that since December 1987 the Pentagon has been producing chemical weapons of a new generation: binary weapons. The U.S. company Combustion Engineering produces diflor—a compound which becomes lethal when it is combined with an inert chemical substance contained in a separate airtight capsule. Another company—Markardt—produces this inner capsule. Another company—Morton Thiokol—assembles the whole shell at a military munitions production plant.

Obviously the positions of those who are counting on achieving any advantages on the military plane with the aid of this barbaric weapon are still strong. And this in turn is preventing the manifestation of clear political will. Under these conditions the U.S. side is seeking during the talks to focus the attention of their participants on things like the complexities of verifying the fulfillment of pledges or the danger of industrial espionage during inspections. As NEWSWEEK put it, some U.S. administration staffers are ostentatiously stating that they will not allow "foreign inspectors to nose out anything at U.S. chemical enterprises."

What can be said on this score? Verification questions are indeed giving rise to many complications at the talks. And in this connection it is all the more incomprehensible why the United States is leading the matter toward its even greater complication. Yet these are precisely the consequences of the development of binary technology. If the sides sincerely wish it, then any problems can be resolved. The Soviet Union is graphically displaying this wish. It is advocating the strictest international control, including on-site inspection without the right of refusal.

Notable in this respect is the statement by FRG Foreign Minister H.D. Genscher. He is convinced that technical complications are no reason for delaying work on a draft convention. And industrial developments of economic interest whose secrecy is endlessly mentioned by some Western representatives are of comparatively less importance than ridding mankind of the threat of nuclear weapons.

The Soviet side is drawing its partners' attention to the question of the nonproliferation of chemical weapons, the prevention of their passing on to other countries, and

their placement outside national territories. The adoption of such commitments by all states which possess chemical weapons, without exception, would help to promote this process of importance to mankind.

So the signal to storm the "chemical Bastille" has sounded. Will the storming itself be successful? It can and must be.

U.S. Binary CW Weapons Plans Criticized

LD1801222089 Moscow TASS in English 2158 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 19 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

The conference on disarmament in Geneva resumed the debating on a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons. The debate was starting on a wave of optimism caused by the encouraging results of the Paris international forum which urged all the participants in the talks to redouble the efforts to work out in near future a convention on the elimination of those horrible weapons. The process of the working out of the convention in Geneva is given a strong impetus by the Soviet Union's decision to start eliminating its stockpiles of chemical weapons as early as this year, before an appropriate international agreement is signed.

Experts assert that the text of the convention on banning chemical weapons has already been coordinated to 80-85 per cent. But verification of the observance of the agreement is yet among the questions to be decided. This problem which is very complex even if there is good will of all the parties becomes still more difficult even if one of the parties fails to show a constructive approach to its solution.

The Soviet Union declares for far-reaching measures of control over the observance of the convention, including obligatory on-site inspections. But inspections should be conducted in equal conditions for all the sides.

On the other hand, the U.S. delegation at the conference in Geneva proposes obligatory inspections only for state-owned chemical plants, while exception is made for private enterprises under the pretext of "commercial secrets". Thus according to Washington's proposals, all chemical plants will be subject to inspections in the Soviet Union, since there are no private enterprises capable of producing warfare toxic agents in the USSR. Only a small part of such enterprises in the USA is state-owned. The lion's share of warfare toxic agents and means of their delivery is manufactured in the USA at private factories.

THE WASHINGTON POST reports that within the next decade the U.S. Army plans to produce over one million units of binary ammunition valued at about three billion dollars. Soon after the USSR's decision on unilateral elimination of Soviet stockpiles of warfare toxic agents, the White House submitted to the Congress a draft military budget which, as the British GUARDIAN reports, envisages a sharp increase of appropriations for binary weapons as early as the 1990 fiscal year.

Such plans of the Pentagon do not go together with statements of official representatives of the U.S. Administration about their intention to prohibit chemical weapons in the foreseable future. Meanwhile, in one of his speeches during the election campaign, George Bush said that he regards the elimination of chemical weapons as his sacred task. Bush said that if he were elected President he would be remembered for a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons, if for anything.

One would like to hope that the election promise of the new President of the USA will be fulfilled.

Soviet Military Inspectors Arrive in UK 18 Jan

LD1801170388 Moscow TASS in English 1655 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] London January 18 TASS—A group of Soviet military experts arrived in Britain on Wednesday and the BBC said they would inspect the Greenham Common Air Base as part of efforts to verify the fulfilment of the Soviet-American INF Treaty.

'Sleight of Hand' on Force Counts Criticized

PM1801092189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with Colonel General N.F. Chervov, chief of (unnamed) USSR Armed Forces General Staff directorate, conducted by own correspondent S. Butkov under the "Topical Interview" rubric: "Disarmament Needs Computing"; date, place not specified]

[Text] [Butkov] New thinking now occupies stronger positions in interstate relations. This concept does, of course, have a military aspect. The latest Soviet initiative of reducing its armed forces by 500,000 men is such an example. What is the significance of this step by the Soviet state, in your view?

[Chervov] Most foreign politicians and military specialists have regarded the Soviet Union's unilateral reduction of its armed forces as a bold and courageous step which will lead to a dramatic breakthrough in international relations. It is clearly still too early to talk about its specific positive significance. It is a long-term initiative, designed for many years to come; its strategic task being to build confidence and strengthen detente. It will undoubtedly give a new boost to all talks on disarmament questions, help to substantially reduce the military potentials of the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries, and place interstate relations on a qualitatively new level.

Not a single capitalist state has decided to take such a step, although NATO countries are superior to the Warsaw Pact in a number of kinds of armaments. The Soviet Union has set an example here. It works from the

principle of "defense sufficiency" and seeks the minimum level of arms necessary to defend the country. This principle can of course only be fully realized on a mutual basis. This, from our standpoint, constitutes new political thinking in the military sphere. I do not rule out our allies also taking unilateral steps in the disarmament sphere. We feel that security should be ensured by political means.

[Butkov] Many of the servicemen who will be "axed" are professional military men, officers. What will happen to them?

[Chervov] Indeed, one in five of those to be axed is an officer. And we are very well aware that we have a major social problem to solve. What is being done to that end? The requisite measures to provide backup for those who go into the reserve are now being drafted, and that includes measures within the USSR Defense Ministry.

The bulk of those discharged will be men with long service, with the right to a pension. Let us be frank: We have the experience of the sixties, when many officers were discharged without a pension because they missed serving the regulation term by, say, a month or two. This was, of course, unjust. These were people, after all, who had devoted their whole lives to the Army and the defense of the motherland, and yet they were treated so inhumanly.

Measures will also be taken to provide those who go into the reserve with housing, for which extra resources are being allocated.

No one must be slighted or have his rights or privileges encroached on. The grading of the entire Army and Navy officer corps this year will be of great significance here.

As far as the groupings of our forces in Europe are concerned, as is well known, we are withdrawing 500,000 men. All the combined units withdrawn will be disbanded. But I would like to draw special attention to this, since it is being suggested in the West that the USSR will restation the forces withdrawn from Europe in Asia. Nothing of the kind. It is precisely a reduction of armed forces that is being undertaken, and the servicemen are being discharged into the reserve.

Another problem arises here, of course: Quite a few young officers recently graduated from military college are serving abroad. They are not being discharged, but will be transferred to other garrisons. This decision is very important from the social standpoint. A young officer must be sure of the future; only thus will we be able to maintain a healthy atmosphere in the Army.

[Butkov] How do the officers themselves regard the fact that some of them will have to leave the Army?

[Chervov] I have not personally encountered so far any cases of dissatisfaction or grievance on the part of servicemen, nor heard any opinions to the effect that some people are being thrown overboard, as it were. I am certain that the knowledge of our officers will also prove useful in the national economy

[Butkov] The KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA editorial office receives quite a few letters in which readers express concern: Won't the USSR's defense capability be reduced by the unilateral reduction of our armed forces, and won't we as a result find ourselves weaker than the NATO bloc?

[Chervov] We are indeed embarking on considerable reductions in our armed forces. In the European part of our country and on the territory of our European allies alone the Soviet Armed Forces will be reduced by 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 warplanes. Six tank divisions—that is, 2,000 tanks—are being withdrawn from the Soviet Groups of Forces and 3,000 tanks withdrawn from those divisions which are remaining there for the time being. The structure of our combined units will be made more defensive in nature. This step will undoubtedly remove the concern of certain circles in the West regarding our force groupings.

At the same time we are removing assault-landing and assault-river-crossing combined units and units plus armaments from the groups of forces. There are henceforth no grounds for talk that the USSR is capable of invading West Europe and making preparations to do so virtually from one day to the next.

The reformation of Soviet forces is actual proof that we are committed to a purely defensive military doctrine. This does not mean, however, that Soviet security suffers as a result. Our unilateral reduction of forces is by no means an arbitrary decision. It was carefully considered and calculated.

Bear in mind also that both sides have a strategic nuclear shield.

[Butkov] You come across articles in the Western press which claim that the Soviet Union's unilateral reduction of armed forces is not a goodwill gesture at all but mere propaganda, because the USSR is superior to NATO in every kind of armament. Take, for example, the table published in one of the latest issues of the West German weekly STERN. Could you comment on this?

[Chervov] These figures are taken from a booklet recently published by NATO. It has already been the subject of discussion at a press conference I gave in Austria, which was attended by representatives of the 35 European states, as well as the United States and Canada, that are participating in the Vienna meeting and, naturally, a large number of journalists accredited there.

What kind of "inexactitudes," to put it mildly, does the booklet contain? Well, the main one is the claim by its compilers that it provides the figures for the two alliances' armed forces. It does not, in fact. Armed forces

comprise ground forces, air and naval forces, air defense, civil defense, and other components. The booklet, however, considers only ground forces. So it takes a selective approach. Only those figures which show Warsaw Pact superiority are cited. But we do not deny that the Warsaw Pact is superior to NATO in certain regards. The USSR defense minister has stated in his speeches, for example, that we have 20,000 more tanks.

Why is nothing said in the booklet about naval forces? The reason is that in this sphere the United States and NATO have multiple superiority over the Soviet Union and the Warsaw PAct. The U.S. Navy is almost 3 times larger than the Soviet Navy in terms of capital ships and 2 and ½ times in terms of total tonnage. The United States has 15 aircraft carriers, while we have 1. It has a 19:1 numerical superiority over us in marines, and its naval aviation is roughly 2 and ½ times superior to ours. So such an approach to analyzing Warsaw Pact and NATO Armed Forces is improper, to say the least.

Some NATO representatives state that it is these figures which the Western side intends to bring to the negotiations on reducing conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals. Naturally, it is said, naval forces are not taken into account here. I have heard this kind of "argument" in Vienna. But it does not stand up to criticism: NATO's figures are not suitable for talks, because it has not yet been determined what armaments precisely should be the subject of discussion.

Thus, the figures are not suitable for talks and do not reflect the real correlation of the two alliances' armed forces. What do we have here then? The unavoidable conclusion is that the booklet's objective is purely propagandist: to frighten the West European public once again with the "Soviet threat" and justify an increase in military budgets.

Now to deal specifically with certain of the indicators of NATO arms cited here. The 16,424 tanks cited in STERN are only those in service in the forces, while the roughly 8,000-10,000 mothballed vehicles, those in warehouses, are not in the table. Former Federal Chancellor H. Schmidt and West German Defense Minister M. Woerner have said that the the Bundeswehr is capable of expanding to 1.2 million fully-armed men within 72 hours. (Its present number amounts to around half a million).

Now for artillery. NATO officials have here indicated artillery systems of 100mm or more in caliber. But why only that caliber? The reason is that, if all artillery—from 40mm up—is taken into account, the left-hand column has to have another 25,000 guns added. Sleight of hand once again!

We have repeatedly suggested to NATO countries that official data on the military potentials of the two blocs be exchanged. They have refused. The USSR has also put forward the proposal of revealing the figures that will be the subject of the new talks (from the Atlantic to the Urals) and immediately checking them out to determine the real imbalances and asymmetry. To date, NATO representatives have not assented to this. They clearly fear inspection.

[Butkov] Yet progress is perceptible. Many Western politicians are now urging that the Soviet example be followed. FRG Foreign Minister H.D. Genscher thinks that it is time to "cast aside the indecision" in disarmament matters. U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, however, stated recently in Brussels that he rules out any possibility of reciprocal unilateral reductions of NATO armed forces. Which of the two positions will triumph in the immediate future, in your view?

[Chervov] You can, of course, hear varying statements regarding the Soviet initiative in the the West. People talk a lot about how it should be ignored—pocketed, as it were—and pressure on the Soviet Union continued. These are foolish statements. Incidentally, the position worked out at the last NATO Council session in Brussels appears very wishy-washy in the world community's eyes, to put it mildly, when seen against the background of our initiative. The USSR's latest steps in the sphere of disarmament have substantially influenced the minds of ordinary citizens, particularly the West Europeans. The attitude to the USSR of many politicians and military figures in Western countries has altered. And the opinion that it is essential to respond to the Soviet Union's initiative is becoming increasingly widespread throughout the world.

Official Discusses Gorbachev's 1986 Statement

PM1701113989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Jan 89 First Edition p 5

[Interview with K.F. Mikhaylov, first deputy chief of the Problems of Arms Control and Disarmament Administration, USSR Foreign Ministry, by observer M. Ponomarev: "Bold Approach is Justifying Itself"; date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Text] K.F. Mikhaylov, first deputy chief of the Problems of Arms Control and Disarmament Administration, USSR Foreign Ministry, gave an interview to a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer. The theme of their talk was tomorrow's 3d anniversary of M.S. Gorbachev's 15 January 1986 statement.

You can see a long way from the window of Konstantin Fedorovich Mikhaylov's office. And not simply because it is on the 18th floor of the tall building of the Foreign Ministry on Smolensk Square in Moscow. At the Problems of Arms Control and Disarmament Administration they examine many practical questions connected with the consolidation of security and the promotion of Soviet peace initiatives.

Our talk took place on the eve of the 3d anniversary of M.S. Gorbachev's 15 January 1986 statement, which set out a comprehensive program for ridding mankind of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass annihilation. My first question was this: Today, 3 years on, how can we assess the 15 January statement?

"It is becoming increasingly obvious," Konstantin Fedorovich answered, "that the statement delivered by M.S. Gorbachev was not only bold but also profoundly considered, constructive, and realistic. The statement is based on a system of general human values geared toward the survival of modern civilization. For the first time the philosophy of security for all has been organically merged with a precisely scheduled program of specific measures in the field of nuclear disarmament, the elimination of other types of weapons of mass annihilation, and the reduction of conventional arms under effective verification.

"The statement's ideas were far from being a utopia or the fruit of some kind of political romanticism, as some people in the West are trying to depict them. They were based on an in-depth analysis and sober consideration of the world situation and the trends in its development, and on an awareness of the fact that the creation of a nuclear-free, secure world is essential and possible and that this fully accords with the aspirations of peoples. The statement not only reflects the concept of the new political thinking, but has also become the point of departure for its practical implementation."

"That is, these are not only ideas," I remarked. "They are being given material form and are already being implemented in practice."

"That's right," my interlocutor replied. "The practical destruction of two classes of Soviet and U.S. missiles simultaneously is already in full swing."

Konstantin Fedorovich selected a sheet of paper from the pile on the desk and held it out to me:

"Look, both sides have already eliminated over 700 missiles of both classes and over 200 launchers. Mankind has thus already begun to rid itself of nuclear weapons. Its hopes of putting an end to the threat of a nuclear catastrophe are becoming more realistic."

"Of course," Konstantin Fedorovich continued, "the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles is only the first step and it encompasses a relatively small proportion of the Soviet and U.S. nuclear arsenals. But its importance is exceptionally great. And not only because the first step is the hardest and therefore the most important. Its importance is also great in that the whole world has been shown the possibility of finding a mutually acceptable solution in the complex field that is nuclear disarmament."

"But how do matters stand with regard to further steps?" I moved on to the next question. "After all, during the first stage of nuclear disarmament scheduled to take 5-8 years as of 1986 it was proposed to halve the nuclear arms of the USSR and the United States, yet so far only 5 percent is being reduced in practice. I would like to learn from you, at first hand so to speak, how matters stand with regard to the drafting of a treaty on a 50 percent reduction of the strategic offensive armaments of the USSR and the United States."

"The Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms in Geneva have already done quite a lot," I noticed small notes of a certain satisfaction in my interlocutor's voice. "Serious work has been done as a result of which joint drafts were put on the conference table both for the future treaty itself and for other documents connected with it and forming an inalienable part of it. It is true that these texts still contain clauses in brackets, as we say, that is clauses which are as yet not agreed. These brackets contain clauses on which no agreement has yet been reached between the sides. The removal of the brackets will require a large amount of work. There is agreement on limits for strategic offensive arms for the USSR and the United States, which should not exceed 1,600 boosters and 6,000 weapons for each side. Some progress has been achieved in defining the procedures for eliminating the armaments which are being reduced and for forms and methods of verification.

"The most complex unagreed questions include the problem of air-launched cruise missiles, in particular the problem of calculating the number of these missiles on specific types of heavy bombers and determining their range with a view to dividing air-launched cruise missiles into long-range and shorter-range missiles. The Soviet position is to find a solution which would not give priority to either side but would fully accord with the interests of maintaining stability and security and would create a good prerequisite for the further reduction of nuclear potentials.

"Serious differences also remain on the question of sea-launched cruise missiles. We are in favor of their limitation under effective verification but the United States, citing the difficulties of this verification, would like to withdraw these missiles from the framework of the treaty which is being worked out.

"Finally we should note a question on which the positions of the sides differ fundamentally—their attitude toward the observance of the ABM Treaty. The Soviet Union is in favor of the strict observance of this nonexpiring agreement while the U.S. side is trying to replace this treaty with an accord which would make it possible to bypass and thereby destroy it and to legalize activity which it has banned. The U.S. position on this and several other questions is based on one-sided interests.

"An intermission has now been announced at the Geneva talks. The date for their resumption will be specified. We proceed from the premise that the next round should begin as rapidly as possible. At the same time we realize

that the new U.S. Administration will require some time to assess the state of affairs at the talks and elaborate its further line."

"But will the change of U.S. Administration not influence the progress of the talks?" I asked.

"Although G. Bush is speaking of the continuity of his course, the replacement of the administration in the United States is nonetheless affecting the pace at which existing problems are being examined. I would like to believe that the statements of the new administration's spokesmen will form the basis of the United States' practical stance and that talks will resume without particular delay and will assume a good workmanlike pace. The Soviet delegation is preparing for precisely this turn of events in Geneva."

"What we have been discussing so far, Konstantin Fedorovich, applies to the first stage of the program set forth in the 15 January statement for eliminating nuclear weapons by the end of the 20th century. The second stage—the involvement of the other nuclear powers—should begin no later than 1990. There is little time left. How does their position look right now? And another thing: What are the prospects for eliminating all tactical nuclear weapons—also a task for the second stage?"

"We have already said that the reaching of an accord on a 50 percent reduction of the strategic offensive armaments of the USSR and the United States would put on the agenda the question of the further reduction of nuclear arsenals. There is no doubt that these further steps are inconceivable without including all nuclear powers in the reduction process. An understanding of the necessity and inevitability of this development of the nuclear arms situation is growing—and not only among the public.

"As for the elimination of tactical nuclear weapons, the forthcoming examination and solution of the problem of reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe will, with justification, put on the agenda the reduction and elimination of short-range nuclear arms on the continent. The reduction of conventional arms to a level which would ensure the solution of strictly defensive tasks and would give neither side the opportunity to conduct offensive operations will completely remove the grounds for NATO's assertion regarding the need to retain the nuclear deterrent."

"M.S. Gorbachev's statement also speaks of the elimination of chemical weapons as early as this century. Are there any advances in this field?"

Konstantin Fedorovich took a fresh newspaper from the desk.

"Chemical weapons, which come under the heading of barbaric weapons, weapons of mass annihilation," he says, "should undoubtedly be banned, and as soon as possible. Stockpiles of these weapons and the industrial base for their production should be completely eliminated. The Paris international conference showed for everyone to see how keenly the world community perceives the problems of eliminating this type of weapon. Both at the conference itself and around it a common understanding was expressed of the fact that the elaboration of an international convention on chemical weapons should be completed as soon as possible in order to embark without delay on the elimination of these weapons. The new Soviet initiatives in this field generated a great positive response."

"The 15 January statement also discussed the reduction of conventional arms and armed forces."

"Yes, that is important," Konstantin Fedorovich noted. "The fact that Europe is on the eve of the opening of talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms from the Atlantic to the Urals serves as impressive confirmation of the statement's realism and objectivity. Thus, this provision of the statement will also begin to work already. In practice we are all witnessing and taking part in headway on the very difficult path of disarmament in all the directions outlined in the statement.

"Perhaps my words may seem excessively optimistic to some people. But this optimism reflects not only my personal understanding but also the public understanding of the necessity and possibility of resolving the task. Of course, merely understanding the importance and necessity of this process is not enough. Specific steps and the display of political will by all in the spirit of the new approaches toward ensuring a secure peace."

"I should particularly like to stress," K.F. Mikhaylov said, anticipating my next question, "that our consistency and firmness in resolving these tasks is confirmed by the Soviet Union's unilateral steps. That is how it was with the moratorium on nuclear tests. That is also what is happening with the unilateral and very bold decision to reduce our armed forces and arms. It may be said with complete certainty that the Soviet Union's activity in the international arena and M.S. Gorbachev's United Nations speech are the further development, deepening, and implementation of the ideas set forth in the statement. Perhaps it is even the case that the statement's ideas became an important component of that speech, which should be assessed as the platform for the USSR's further actions in the field of humanization and democratization of international relations.

"Of course, the position of the USSR—and, as someone who has given more than 40 years of his life to service in the Armed Forces and as a reserve lieutenant general, I would particularly like to stress this," Konstantin Fedorovich said in conclusion, "is determined on each occasion with a consideration for all aspects of safeguarding our security and the security of our friends. It is determined from the viewpoint of the new thinking, according to which genuine security can be ensured primarily by political means, by developing trust and cooperation among the peoples. At the same time I would also like to recall Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's words to the effect that we will maintain the country's defense capability at a level of reasonable and reliable sufficiency."

Cuba Hosts Reception for CEMA Planning Group

PM1801151989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "In Honor of the Delegation Heads"]

[Text] Havana, 17 Jan—The Cuban leadership organized an official reception Monday in honor of the delegation heads at the 43d session of the CEMA Committee on Cooperation in the Sphere of Planning Activity. Representatives of the CEMA countries on the committee and the leaders of the CEMA countries' planning organs are taking part in it. Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan, is the head of the Soviet delegation.

Speaking at the reception, Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Republic's State Council and Council of Ministers, expressed satisfaction at holding this important meeting in Havana. He pointed out that Cuba devotes tremendous attention to questions of planning designed to boost the effectiveness of economic production activity. The coordination of economic plans within the framework of the socialist community is a guarantee of the further successful development of our cooperation in various spheres of production activity.

Our country's people recently celebrated the 30th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution and express profound gratitude to the socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union, for their invariable manifestation of solidarity and fraternal aid.

Socialist Parliamentarians Consult in Cuba

LD1801104289 Moscow TASS in English 0702 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Havana January 18 TASS—A consultative meeting of the leaders of the parliamentary groups of socialist countries opened in the Palace of Congresses of the Cuban capital on Tuesday, with Yuriy Khristoradnov, [chairman of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet] chairman of the USSR parliamentary group, taking part.

The parliamentarians are to analyze the results of the activities of the top legislative bodies of socialist countries in 1988 as well as to discuss and coordinate plans for a future period.

They will consider problems connected with averting the militarisation of outer space as well as such items as space exploration exclusively for peaceful purposes, decolonization issues, the protection of children's rights, and the huge foreign debt of the developing countries. These and other subjects have been put on the agenda of the Interparliamentary Union's two conferences which are to be held in Budapest and London in 1989.

The forthcoming conferences, the parliamentarians pointed out in their speeches, will be of special importance because they will be held in the year of the centenary of this international non-governmental organisation which brings together national parliamentary groups.

Silin Meets With CSSR Officials in Prague

AU1201100189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Jan 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Discussing Security in Europe"]

[Text] Prague—Yevgeniy Silin, first deputy chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, who is currently visiting the CSSR at the invitation of the Czechoslovak Committee for European Security and Cooperation, was received by Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak committee, in Prague on Wednesday [4 January]. They assessed certain possibilities of intensifying mutual cooperation and exchanged the experience acquired by the two committees in their work. At the same time they discussed the further development of activities carried out by the movement for European security and cooperation.

On the same day the Soviet guest was received by Rudolf Rohlicek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and deputy chairman of the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front. They briefed each other on the application of restructuring in the activities of social organizations in their two countries.

The Soviet representative was also received by Jan Bouchal, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department.

Marek Venuta, head of the CPCZ Central Committee's International Affairs Department, also met the Soviet official on Wednesday [4 January].

On the same day, Yevgeniy Silin was also received by Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs. Their talk dealt with issues connected with the further development of all-European cooperation. In this context Jaromir Johanes briefed Yevgeniy Silin on the process of realizing the Czechoslovak initiative on the establishment of a zone of confidence, cooperation, and good- neighborly relations along the border between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states, which is part of the all-European process and our specific contribution to the intensification of security and cooperation on the European Continent.

Gorbachev Speaks at Trilateral Commission Meeting
LD1901001289 Moscow TASS in English
1907 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev today at the CPSU Central Committee received representatives of the Trilateral Commission. This is a nongovernmental organisation which unites eminent political and business figures from the United States, Western Europe, and Japan. Participating in the meeting were the co-presidents of the commission, Rockefeller for the United States, Bertrand for Western Europe, and Okawara for Japan, as well as Former President of France Giscard d'Estaing, Former Prime Minister of Japan Nakasone, Former U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger, and editor of the magazine FOREIGN AFFAIRS Heiland. They have come to Moscow in association with preparation of a new special report devoted to East-West relations in the conditions which are being created in the world by the restructuring in the USSR and by a foreign policy based on the new thinking.

The main thing that Gorbachev's interlocutors were all interested to know was his view of the possibilities of perestroika and of the time it will take for its ideas to be realised in such a way that it will be possible to raise the issue of organically integrating the Soviet economy into the world economy.

Giscard d'Estaing and others said they do not see it normal that such a vast country as the USSR does not participate in well-known international economic organisations (GATT, IMF, IBRD, OECD).

Kissinger linked the problem with the creation of an international system in which rivalry will be replaced by cooperation and nations will ensure their interests through mutually beneficial contacts rather than at others' expense.

With reference to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's UN speech, questions were also asked about the new vision of the world which differs from what the West has gotten used to dealing with over the decades, about the processes taking place in Europe and the U.S. role in them, about the Soviet defensive doctrine, and other matters.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev outlined his views on all these matters: All of us living in various parts of the world must agree that the world is passing through a transitional stage. We are all subject to profound transformations.

We must alter ourselves accordingly, and in communication with each other one should not make claims to the possession of the ultimate truth and the knowledge of the best solutions, he said.

There is a certain lopsidedness built into the very wording of the questions asked here. How, it is asked as much depends on it, will the Soviet Union be changing? But how will you, the West, change? This is also no minor part of the present key question.

Both capitalism and socialism are changing. This is happening in an atmosphere of aggravation of global problems which dictates the necessity of breaking through the tendency toward complication and of supporting the tendency toward normalisation and cooperation. An understanding of that makes it easier to move on. Breakthroughs are needed in thinking. And one must not be afraid to ask those difficult questions, which are dictated by life itself, of oneself and of each other.

We have attempted to draw cardinal conclusions for ourselves. This made it easier to breathe, enabled us to know and understand ourselves better and at the same time to take a fresh look at the world around us. And it turned out that the revision of the way of thinking is a painful process.

But this process is indispensable if one is to be honest to one's own people and to those with whom one has contacts in the outer world. We have informed the whole world of our quests and we have not made claims to monopolising the truth in any matter. We have been and are inviting our country and the world to ponder together and look jointly for answers and solutions. Here are two general thoughts in this connection.

First, many have already joined in the quest for new international relations—some more and others less. The process of embarking on real politics has begun on both sides and is proceeding with difficulty, getting rid of recriminations, and of the temptation to score propaganda victories. This is, incidentally, understandable. All of us are children of our time. And the task before all of us is how to make use of past experience. If we are to apply the methods developed in the past to the solution of new tasks, hardly anything will be achieved. Another approach is to learn the lessons of past experience—and there are many of them. But the main one is that we have gone far too far using the old attitudes, both in the sphere of military rivalry and political confrontation, and in putting oneself in economic opposition to others.

Second, we must approach the idea of peaceful coexistence itself in a new way, taking into account the present terrible dangers and at the same time the fact that we have all become far more dependent on each other.

The attempts to overcome contradictions between the systems along the lines of the arms race and preparation of war turned out to be unrealistic and extremely dangerous.

There is one way out: Let every system be proving its ability to adapt to new realities and processes, while distinctions should be viewed as a stimulus for exchange, for interaction, as a source of the useful for both sides.

It is time for all of us to rid ourselves of the primitive cliches which were developed in the past. We ourselves did not take the trouble to make a timely investigation of the internal mainsprings of capitalist society. We underestimated its ability to adopt and develop in new conditions, and we predicted that it would soon fail.

To this day, there are many people in the West who view socialism as a stillborn baby of civilization and believe that it is necessary to consign it to the scrap heap of history.

Mikhail Gorbachev pointed to the adherence of the Soviet people to the socialist choice and noted that perestroika is a revolutionary attempt to impart new quality to socialism. And if so, and as we do not demand that those who favour the capitalist system give up their values, there is a need to be realistic and find new forms of cooperation in the world process. What the mechanisms of such cooperation should be like is becoming of topical interest. In the sphere of politics, experience has already been gained. There is a dynamic political dialogue. Negotiations are in progress and have already reached a substantive level. We also have the initial practical results for which we have the new realistic methods of approach to thank. A great change has taken place in ideas concerning regional conflicts. Understanding has come of the unsuitability of military methods for resolving them and there is proof of the effectiveness of political methods of settlement.

There are other signs of positive experience. If they are summed up, it becomes apparent that internationalisation of problems is needed. This is why we attach such an importance to the United Nations Organisation which has long been unable to bring into play its possibilities. But it has been waiting for its hour and it has come.

As regards the economic aspect of international relations, internationalisation of mechanisms of communication is needed there too. I agree that scopeful improvement of international relations cannot be counted on without the modernisation of world economic ties.

There should be greater interdependence in the economy in order to successfully build the world community's modern political structure. The job is very complex.

It is essential to find approaches not only to forming normal economic relations between the capitalist and the socialist parts of the world but also to relations between developed and developing countries where the situation is becoming extremely sharp. This problem should finally become a subject of most serious joint discussions. How will the USSR become integrated into the world economy? This will happen in stages, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said. The key question here for us is scientific-technical progress. This is not a simple matter. It would be tempting to spend money abroad and rapidly fill the markets with goods. But we were thinking not just of the next one or two years. We were thinking about creating an economy which would supply us with the required amounts and quality of production. Therefore, we have made very large investments in modernising the whole technological structure of our industrial base.

Comrade Gorbachev cited examples of how we are reaching world standards in a number of key areas of scientific-technical progress and where we already have outstanding results.

The second direction which will allow us to become part of the world economy is the change in external economic policy on the basis of greater openness with new forms of economic links being used. Over the past two years we have soundly "liberalised" our principles in this area. But we still have to learn not just a bit but a lot. Among other things, we have done away with our "internal COCOM", that is a gap between military and civilian production. Through dynamic scientific and technical progress and new forms of foreign economic relations, we will reach a level of production of goods which will allow us to solve the question of the convertibility of the ruble. This will also take place in stages.

Mr Nakasone asks how soon this might happen. It is difficult to say exactly, but I think that we will approach the goal in the next few years. However, if the West, as you state, is interested in the USSR joining the world economy, there should be reciprocal movement, too. We invite you to discuss, for instance, the issue of establishing relations with international economic organisations.

We in the Soviet leadership, are close to taking a decision of principle. But there is a need both for understanding and for reciprocal steps on the other side. We cannot accept the rules of participation in the IMF, IRBD, etc. all at once. There are objective factors making for this.

The West must also adapt itself to such a partner as the USSR. At the present stage it is important to use every opportunity to develop direct ties between enterprises and other forms of economic cooperation. We are open to this. The main thing is to put an end to the restrictions and bans to which the West is stubbornly adhering.

Answering a question from Henry Kissinger, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev noted that all Europeans need the USSR and the United States to participate fully in the general European process. But it is important that Europe's specific interests be taken into account here. Harmonising relations within the framework of Europe is not a simple matter. The main thing now is to ensure dynamism for the Helsinki process and scrupulous observation of the realities which were recognized by all those who signed the 1975 Final Act. Any other approach contains the danger of an explosion. Stability in Europe is in our common interest. In its Western part some time ago serious structural reorganisation was observed, which was accompanied by social tension. We

can see now thorough-going changes under way in the countries of Eastern Europe and this should be viewed with understanding as a natural process.

On how should the defensive character of the military doctrine be filled with specific content? We are already doing this, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev said. We are cutting our armed forces. The cuts will amount to 12 percent. The military budget will be reduced by 14.2 percent and production of arms and military equipment by 19.5 percent. Out of the 500,000 men by which the Army and Navy are being reduced, in two years 240,000 will come from the European part of the country, 200,000 from the eastern part, and 60,000 from its southern part.

In an attempt to compromise our action, a story is being circulated in the West which alleges that we are merely getting rid of obsolete tanks. Just look: We are withdrawing 5,300 of the most modern tanks from our groups of forces. Out of the 10,000 tanks which we are cutting in Europe, 5,000 will be physically liquidated and the remainder will be converted into tractors for civilian needs, and training vehicles. I repeat: In the East we are cutting the Army and Navy by 200,000.

We shall soon begin the second reduction of our troops in the Mongolian People's Republic. They will be cut there by 75 percent. Besides, our aviation grouping there will also be liquidated.

We are withdrawing a number of formations and units which appear offensive from our grouping in Eastern Europe from there. I spoke about this at the United Nations. The whole of that grouping will be exclusively defensive in character by 1 January 1991.

When we speak of defensive sufficiency of the armed forces, one must keep in mind that this is a changing concept. Its contents depend on how the West conducts itself. In accordance with the Vienna mandate, talks will soon begin on conventional weapons and armed forces in Europe. There, we will sort out the asymmetries and work on the whole set of problems outlined in Vienna. Such is the essence and practice of our defense doctrine.

As for publishing our data on the defensive potential in the Far East, we will soon be able to do this—just as we did it with relation to Europe.

Mr Nakasone asks how the five principles of our relations with China differ from the principles of relations with the socialist countries in Europe. Like all relations in today's world, these relations with these countries have their own history, their own stages. We have had a thorough exchange of opinions with the leadership of our friends and have summed up the results of many years of cooperation, and we have stated that we will build relations on a friendly basis, on the principles of equality and noninterference in internal affairs, and we will develop mutually beneficial cooperation to the common benefit of socialism and will take everyone's interests into account. I think that this covers the mentioned "five principles", but also goes beyond their framework because of the real contacts which have formed during decades—provided none of the named principles is violated of course.

On behalf of his colleagues, Rockefeller said that the conversation had been exceptionally interesting and useful, and encouraging for its potential consequences. It had provided much food for thought and would permit the commission to compile a detailed report which would be read throughout the world.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev also expressed satisfaction with the atmosphere and content of the conversation. It is an example of how an open and useful dialogue is gathering strength step by step. As far as the prospects for restructuring are concerned, the main thing—and what one should take as the premise—is that the whole country is on the move. There will be difficulties, perhaps painful ones, but the country will never be what it was. The choice has been made. Since restructuring will continue, the processes which have made possible the development of international relations in which we are already participating will develop. Our restructuring will happen, but we expect restructuring on your side as well, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev concluded.

Present at the conversation were Comrades Yakovlev, Medvedev, Falin, Akhromeyev, Dobrynin, Chernyayev, and Academicians Arbatov and Primakov. The full text of the report will be published.

Shevardnadze in Vienna for CSCE Meeting

Speaks to Journalists

LD1801213589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze arrived in Vienna today. He addressed journalists upon arrival, giving a brief assessment of the results of the Vienna meeting. Comrade Shevardnadze said:

[Begin recording] [Shevardnadze] I think what is most typical now during this final stage is that there is general satisfaction with the results of the Vienna meeting.

[Unidentified correspondent] Is the mandate for military talks, for talks on arms reduction, the most significant part of what has been achieved at the conference?

[Shevardnadze] This is probably the most significant part, but the importance of the Vienna meeting and the final document lies in the fact that, parallel to this most important decision on the mandate for talks on conventional arms, other important, so to speak, decisions have been taken, and other areas, very acute ones I would say, that worry the European peoples, have not remained out of its field of vision, including economic; ecological, so

to speak; and humanitarian problems. On all these problems, very important and substantial decisions have also been taken. [end recording]

Meets 'Socialist' Delegation

LD1801221089 Moscow TASS in English 1400 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna January 18 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and Soviet foreign minister, met the foreign ministers and heads of delegations of socialist countries at the Vienna meeting of countries-participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, at the Soviet Embassy in Vienna on Wednesday.

Shevardnadze is staying in Vienna in connection with the end of the Vienna meeting.

The representatives of the fraternal parties exchanged views on the results of the European forum and noted its importance for strengthening security and cooperation in Europe. They emphasised the genuine desire of socialist countries to implement the Vienna decisions to hold fruitful forums in the interests of all European nations.

The sides spoke in favour of the earliest beginning of simultaneous talks on reducing the armed forces and weapons, and military disarmament in Europe and stressed the need of turning them into a businesslike and constructive discussion.

Meets Austria's Vranitzky

LD1801213689 Moscow TASS in English 2028 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna January 18 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and Soviet foreign minister, met Austrian Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky in Vienna on Wednesday.

Shevardnadze is staying in Vienna in connection with the end of the Vienna meeting of the countries-participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Shevardnadze and Vranitzky expressed mutual satisfaction with the Vienna meeting. They were unanimous in the opinion that countries should now concentrate their efforts on implementing the Vienna agreements.

The Austrian federal chancellor said that the new and large-scale intitiatives advanced by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev at the United Nations and the Soviet unilateral decision to substantially cut its troops and arms created good preconditions for the forthcoming talks on conventional armed forces in Europe and confidence-building measures.

The Soviet foreign minister met with Alois Mock, vice-chancellor and Austrian foreign minister, later on Wednesday. They discussed further development of the European process and questions related to talks on disarmament and confidence building measures in Europe.

The sides discussed political contacts between Soviet and Austrian foreign ministries and appraised the state of bilateral cooperation.

Austria's Neutrality Welcomed

AU1801192989 Vienna Television Service in German 1830 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Interview with USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze by ORF editor Adalbert Krause in Vienna on 18 January; Shevardnadze answers in Russian, with consecutive English translation and superimposed German translation—recorded]

[Text] [Krause] Minister Shevardnadze, following this Vienna CSCE round, a Soviet idea remains as a political goal—party leader Gorbachev's idea of the common European home. What does that mean?

[Shevardnadze] I think that following this meeting in Vienna, we will have to make every effort to implement and strengthen this common European home.

[Krause] Does this common home have economic goals ... particular, or is there also a common policy, despite ideological differences?

[Shevardnadze] I think that we have to deal with all component parts, including confidence-building measures and disarmament, a reduction in military confrontation, problems of economic cooperation, cooperation in humanitarian affairs—everything that brings about an improvement in the living conditions of mankind.

[Krause] Austria is seeking closer ties with the EC and West Europe, while maintaining good relations with East Europe and keeping to its neutrality. What is the Soviet position on this policy?

[Shevardnadze] We have always welcomed Austria's neutrality and continue to consider this policy to be correct—this unique role played by Austria as a neutral state in politics, in international relations, and within Europe. We congratulate you on it.

Meets Britain's Howe

LD1801213789 Moscow TASS in English 2057 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna January 18 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and USSR foreign minister, staying here in connection with the conclusion of the

Vienna meeting of participating countries in the European process had a conversation with British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe today. Both sides noted with satisfaction that the conclusion of the Vienna meeting opens a new, qualitatively higher stage of the implementation of the aims and tasks of the unique process of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, creates opportunities for progress and outlines a ramified program for purposeful work for the consolidation of security, development of confidence and cooperation in Europe.

The ministers declared for effective use of the mechanism of negotiations agreed upon in Vienna, for effective holding of European functions, including the forums in London and Moscow.

When regional problems were discussed, special attention was given to the situation related to Afghanistan. Further stages of the development of Soviet-British political dialogue were set out during the conversation.

Eduard Shevardnadze had a meeting today with Spain's Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez who spoke also on behalf of the Council of the European Communities.

The ministers noted that a weighty, thoroughly balanced final document of the Vienna meeting brings security and cooperation in Europe to a qualitatively new level. Declaring for a consistent and unswerving implementation of the Vienna arrangements on military-political, commercial, economic, ecological and other matters, they emphasised progress in the "human dimension" of the European process. A series of meetings in which will be concluded by the humanitarian conference in Moscow.

The sides gave attention to special importance of the decision to open the negotiations on conventional armed forces and further confidence- and security-building measures in Europe.

The tasks and prospects for cooperation of the USSR and the Economic Community were discussed in detail in connection with the fact that Spain presides in the European Communities.

Meets FRG's Genscher

LD1901155689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1500 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna, 19 Jan (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, met with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, deputy federal chancellor and FRG minister of foreign affairs.

The ministers noted with satisfaction that the successful end to the Vienna meeting is opening up broad, real prospects for a qualitatively new stage in the development of the Helsinki process.

The sides remarked that practical realization of the decisions agreed in Vienna is being advanced to the foreground. The USSR and FRG attach special significance to parallel and mutually complementary talks on armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe and on measures to strengthen trust and security. They will likewise undertake all necessary efforts for a substantial advancement of all-European cooperation in the humanitarian, economic, ecological, cultural, and scientific spheres.

E.A. Shevardnadze drew the attention of Hans-Dietrich Genscher to the situation with respect to settlement of the Afghan problem, having stressed that the way to it lies through the formation of a representative government involving all real political forces in Afghanistan.

The ministers discussed issues connected with the further development of political contacts between the two countries. The plan for consultations through Foreign Ministry channels was also discussed.

Addresses Final Meeting

LD1901144789 Moscow TASS in English 1428 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna January 19 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and Soviet foreign minister, addressed the final follow-up meeting to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe on Thursday [19 January].

He said:

Esteemed Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, the long-anticipated act of concluding the Vienna meeting is continuing for the third day in this hall.

On behalf of their peoples, governments and states my respected colleagues have been speaking of its results and significance.

With all the differences in approaches and views, one can still find a common theme uniting all our aspirations, which Mikhail Gorbachev described as the "Vienna accord".

The Vienna accord is the main result of the meeting.

The Vienna accord is a new development of the Helsinki process.

The Vienna accord is a landmark on the way to a fundamentally new Europe.

And at the same time it is a thorough-going, essential change in the modern political understanding of the world.

This is why we should treasure the Vienna accord and not harm it by setting some countries in opposition to others.

Let me tell you this observation: We have for some time been getting accustomed to mutual recriminations and charges being replaced by a concerted quest for mutually acceptable solutions.

One would like to believe that this new and positive trend cannot be impaired by isolated attacks on several states made here over these days.

Luckily, such attacks are an exception rather than a rule.

By its outcome the Vienna meeting set different norms for state-to-state contacts.

It established them in full conformity with the principles of the Helsinki final act proclaiming respect for the national sovereignty of states and their right to take independent decisions.

The Vienna meeting shook the "Iron Curtain", loosening its rusted joints, piercing still more holes in it and enhancing its corrosion.

It warmed the "cold war" channel with the swell of new currents.

Europe may only welcome this.

But since Europe, which can be translated as "one who sees far, has all the continents in its field of vision and is open to the rest of humanity because it is inseparable from it and because their destinies are interconnected, the Vienna accord is welcomed by the whole world.

We were certainly far-sighted when we gathered in Vienna more than two years ago. We saw a tormentingly long road, with a great many obstacles, but we also saw the goal clearly.

And we reached it.

We reached it because we were seeking it ardently.

We reached it because, according to an idea voiced by Mikhail Gorbachev, present-day realities call for a new "quantity" and "quality" of state-to-state interaction regardless of ideological and other differences, and the Vienna meeting demonstrated our common ability to handle this huge task and achieve so extensive a scale of interaction.

We were able to reach the goal because we were united like never in the past in our desire not to let the bull of hostility, mistrust and confrontation ravage our Europa. Europe had never known such a dialogue before—intense, at times dramatic and yet unprecedentedly purposeful and democratic.

This is why the Soviet Union sees the understandings of the Vienna meeting as meaning much more than just a long stride in developing this great process that takes the continent to a higher level of security and cooperation.

From this level, all of us who see far should, borrowing Leo Tolstoy's words, recognise the importance of not only the place that we occupy but also the direction in which we are moving.

The pointers to this direction orient us to universally shared values and, on this basis, to balanced national interests.

During the past 27 months we were able to see how difficult the route is but we could also see that it is manageable.

Knowing as we are now that it is, we should see more and farther since the decisions of the Vienna meeting are addressed to the future. They shape the agenda of the CSCE process for the next three years and the Soviet Union considers it a duty to tell its partners of its vision of the path.

This concerns factors of the immediate future that will determine the political climate on the continent.

And this concerns Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, in which a whole number of realities will be connected with the actions of my country, with the logical course of perestroika and democratisation, with the continued affirmation of the principles of new thinking in domestic affairs and international politics.

When parallel talks on disarmament and confidence-building measures are conducted in Vienna, the unilateral reduction of Soviet troops by half a million men and armaments by 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems and 800 combat aircraft, which has been announced by Mikhail Gorbachev, will assume the form of specific practical steps.

While striving for the declared fundamental goal—to end any foreign military presence and bases on the territories of other countries—the Soviet Union will withdraw units with all their armaments, including tactical nuclear systems, from Central Europe.

The tactical nuclear weapons issue is being actively debated. And this is quite natural. The Soviet Union has repeatedly suggested that talks on these weapons be started. This suggestion still holds good.

The following question is often asked: And what about the modernisation of tactical nuclear missiles? I have already answered this question on many occasions, and I confirm: The Soviet Union is not modernising its tactical nuclear missiles.

We unequivocally proceed from the premise that nuclear modernisation is a step backward, not forward.

It depends on our Western partners how missile modernisation matters will stand subsequently.

Unilateral actions presuppose reciprocal multilateral restraint. We are confident that such restraint is possible, for we all must orient ourselves towards lower levels of every kind of armament.

The Soviet Union will provide material evidence not only through a quantitative reduction in troops and armaments but also through the growing transparency of its activities. A schedule of the announced cutbacks will be issued.

The objective truth should be palpable. Such is our approach to the problem of the correlation of forces, the identification of disbalances and asymmetries. By the end of January the Soviet Union and its allies will make public their numerical data on troops and armaments of the sides in Europe.

We agreed to start talks which will be unprecedented by the number of participants, by their comprehensive nature, and by objectives set.

It will not be easy to start such a process and to carry it through. Therefore it is very important to agree from the very outset on the principles and methodology of the negotiating process, to approach it creatively, identifying the most promising, result-oriented approaches.

We do not ignore the importance of initial data, of course. The knowledge of the correlation of forces is an important element of negotiations. The true picture should be clear. However, figures should not become an obstacle to politics.

Long and fruitless discussions on categories of armaments and methods for counting troops may clog up the talks. We have a sufficiently bitter experience—the state of affairs at talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, which have been conducted for 15 years without producing any result.

The objective of the talks is not initial data but final levels of available armaments which should be brought down to the lowest possible mutually acceptable limits.

Therefore, there is logic in returning to the idea of coordinating mutually acceptable quantitative 'ceilings' on troops and armaments of the sides. In present conditions we shall be also able to coordinate verification measures which will give full confidence that the established limits on troops and armaments are observed.

The future situation in Europe is inseparable for us from broader disarmament measures.

The forecast in this respect is also favourable.

The process of elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles will end by the next CSCE meeting in Helsinki.

We hope that a treaty on a 50 percent cut in strategic arms will enter into force by that time. If so, the nuclear missiles elimination process will not be interrupted.

The recent Paris conference strengthened confidence in the conclusion of a convention on the banning of chemical weapons and on the start of their elimination everywhere.

Allow me to recall in this connection that the Soviet Union will begin to eliminate its chemical munitions this year.

The prospect is so good that it opens up the broadest opportunities.

Among these we visualise a CSCE summit meeting with the participation of all countries that signed the final act of the Helsinki conference. The scope of negotiations on European disarmament is now such that it will objectively require in due course a discussion by the leaders of states.

We could show greater persistence in the realisation of the idea of a European war risk reduction centre.

Security is multi-dimensional. By removing surplus gunsights we remove antagonism. These are not only tank or artillery gunsights. Upon removing its gaze from them, Europe would be able to see new scope for other dimensions of security—political, legal, civic, social and cultural protection of the individual and peoples.

Back at home we make this task the centrepiece of perestroika. Much is being done to ensure the rights of the individual, to protect his dignity and to create conditions for the free and harmonious development of personality.

It is precisely from this point of view that the realisation of the mandate for holding a three-stage conference on the human dimension of the CSCE process is extremely important to us.

We are prepared to make the most constructive contribution to the building of each of these "tiers", since we are aware that successes at Paris and Copenhagen will in many ways predetermine the effect of the Moscow meeting on humanitarian cooperation.

We are looking forward also to the Sofia meeting on the protection of the environment and the Bonn conference on economic cooperation in Europe.

Our vital interest in their success, in doing away with the existing obstacles to commercial, scientific, technological and production contacts between the two parts of Europe stems from our desire to become part and parcel of the world economic system. The radical economic reform, now under way in our country, is objectively aimed at promoting closer economic ties with other nations.

Our contribution to the elimination of Europe's division may be very large in this area too.

It will be easier to achieve this end now that relations have been established between the European Economic Community and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

We want the symposium on our cultural legacy, which will meet in ancient Krakow, one of the seats of European culture, to strengthen the sense of intellectual, spiritual and creative community of the European peoples. We want it to pave the way to the mutual enrichment of the national cultures of our continent, to the preservation of their inimitability.

We have to admit that the demons of cultural violence threaten both the large and small nations. It is immoral when ruthless laws of economic competition spread to the spiritual sphere, when cultural expansion, backed by advanced technology and capital, implants alien values and standards in Europe and elsewhere, threatening the world with the disappearance of unique forms of national genius, be it in the sphere of cinema, way of life or folklore.

Cultural ecology is increasingly becoming just as important as the ecology of our physical environment. Many people are coming out more persistently than ever before for the institution of a system of cultural safeguards.

We cannot reconcile ourselves to all this. We cannot put up with it or allow the multifarious spiritual wealth of peoples to be replaced by unified standards of one and the same make. It is high time we accepted as a starting point for our actions the principle that a state's attitude to cultural legacy, to contemporary cultural achievements, both its own or of other nations, is today the key yardstick for gauging its level of civilisation.

The right of peoples to their own culture is tantamount to the right to live and be free.

There are quite a number of multinational states in Europe. All the nationalities within each of them need legalised and guaranteed protection of their cultural possessions.

The New World is again living through an upsurge of migration. It is as big as before in the Old World. But an individual, if he loses his homeland, should not lose his spiritual and cultural ties with it. This concerns emigrants from the Soviet Union and people from the European countries now residing in the USSR. The states, including our own, have to guarantee the preservation of their language, cultural legacy, traditions and customs.

Cultural coexistence should be the standard of our life. It could be promoted by the reciprocal establishment of cultural centres by European states.

The Vienna meeting is crucial for Europe. But not for it alone.

Our continent is not an island. The process started in Helsinki has placed it in the centre of East-West relations. Through the United States and Canada our multifarious dialogue and adverse cooperation are projected to the New World, and over the Urals—to Asia.

Indeed, on our side, Europe does not end at the foot of the Urals. The Helsinki gauges of security, humanism and cooperation are in force beyond them all over the territory of the Soviet Union. A war danger will never arise from beyond the "Rocky", as the Urals are called by the Russians.

The formula of community, now in the making from the Atlantic to the Urals, is marked by the shining spirit of Europeanism, which leaves a place both for Oriental colossuses and Western giants.

With this belief we are now ushering in a new, post-Vienna stage of the all-European process.

Today Europe sees more clearly than ever before the European idea's distinctive contours. History knows a multitude of clever and bold projects of European unity. But they could not be realised, since, as Jean-Jacques Rousseau said in assessing one such project—"It was not good enough for Europe, because Europe was not good enough for it".

Is present-day Europe good enough for the all-European home project? We are convinced that in spite of all its numerous difficulties, Europe is able to devise and carry it out.

The Vienna meeting's success has brought us much closer to this goal. It was made possible by the contribution of all the colleagues present here, and I would have liked to express my gratitude to each of them personally, but time does not allow this. Nevertheless, being aware

of the fact that George Shultz, the U.S. secretary of state, will relinquish his post tomorrow, I wish to avail myself of the opportunity to give him his due for everything he wished to do, could and did do in our joint effort.

We are parting today, but not for long, as I understand. The Soviet Union accepts the Austrian Government's invitation to all of us to meet in Vienna again early this March.

No matter how difficult our workaday routine had been, these difficulties cannot eclipse the ideals of our negotiations from the view of the Europeans. The ideals of a Europe of trust, a Europe of law, a Europe of openness.

I thank Vienna for this. I thank the government and the people of Austria for the atmosphere of this meeting, which has contributed to the approximation of our positions and peoples.

NATO Welcomes CSCE Vienna Followup Progress

LD1701153689 Moscow TASS in English 1246 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Brussels January 17 TASS—The North Atlantic Treaty Organization welcomed the success of the Vienna followup meeting to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the working out of a mandate for talks on conventional armed forces from the Atlantic to the Urals.

The representative of NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner said the negotiations could lead to "substantial improvements in the security and stability of Europe."

The talks' mandate, he said, corresponded to NATO proposals for the negotiations to concentrate on the most destabilizing weapons systems with a view to cutting them asymmetrically down to lower and equal levels on both sides.

NATO was also satisfied, he added, that a big step had been made in the human rights field as progress in the area was vital to better East-West relations.

Shevardnadze Signs UN Convention on Drug Trade

LD1901125189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1234 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna, 19 Jan (TASS)—At the UN department in Vienna today Eduard Shevardnadze signed on behalf of the Soviet Government a UN convention on the fight against the illegal trading in narcotics and psychotropic substances. The convention was worked out and adopted in the Austrian capital at an international conference last December.

East-West Conference on Human Rights Begins 15 Jan

LD1501150589 Moscow TASS in English 1450 GMT 15 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 15 TASS—The Executive Council of the "East-West Conference on Human Rights" started its work in Moscow on Sunday. This international organisation unites prominent public and political leaders, lawyers and MPs from 13 European countries and North America.

The aim of the current meeting is to prepare for a regular conference in Atlanta this summer.

The organisation's co-chairwoman Rosalynn Carter told the opening session that the provisions on human rights and international humanitarian cooperation, set forth by Mikhail Gorbachev at the United Nations, had raised human rights discussions to a new level.

According to her, the broad international aid to earthquake-stricken Soviet Armenia was an example of how West and East could resolve universal human problems despite ideological differences.

Having admitted that the United States also had human rights problems, Rosalynn Carter, the wife of the former U.S. President, said that East and West could work out a system of universal human values, where human rights will be given a priority, through mutual experience and cooperation.

Another co-chairman, well-known Soviet public figure Fyodor Burlatskiy, noted that improvement in the international situation and the recent East-West rapprochement in human rights matters had laid down the foundation for developing international contacts.

Speaking about the current Soviet legal reform, Aleksandr Sukharev, USSR procurator-general and president of the association of Soviet lawyers, mentioned specifically that it was aimed at making the Soviet criminal law more humane. Many actions, currently classified as crimes, will be regarded as administrative violations.

"Some people have recently been expressing fears that we will go too far in humanizing our judiciary-legal system. I can truly say that these fears have no ground. Far from everything has been done to make this system more humane and we have potential for its further democratisation," Aleksandr Sukharev said.

Founding Member Comments

LD1601235189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1548 GMT 16 Jan 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Vitaliy Ilashenko]

[Excerpts] A session of the Executive Council of the East-West Conference on Human Rights has been held in Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation. Our special correspondent Sergey Rybin reports.

[Rybin] Together with Van Egen [not further identified], the founders of this prestigious international organization were Rosalynn Carter, Fedor Burlatskiy, and Aleksandr Sukharev. They all are members of the Executive Council. What does this organization do? One may put it briefly like this: They strive to develop international cooperation on humanitarian problems on the principles of the Helsinki final act. [passage omitted]

[Burlatskiy] To talk about our organization, last year we addressed the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and suggested that all those imprisoned for so-called religious offenses be released. We were very glad that by the end of the year not a single prisoner convicted on these articles remained. Moreover, we advocate that these articles should be abolished altogether from the criminal code. We are now moving on to the stage of joint action in conjunction with our foreign colleagues.

We are thinking of—in the run-up to the Moscow conference in 1991 being prepared, which will have a whole number of stages—formulating a public initiative which would, if you like, run somewhat ahead of these events and would put suggestions on the desks of representatives of various governments.

[Rybin] In some letters from viewers, well, that is not quite accurate—fairly often one comes across the idea of whether we are not giving way under the thumb of the West on the human rights issue.

[Burlatskiy] I would say that this is a false idea, and it is connected with the fact that the traditions of an anti-liberal political culture have still not been overcome. Here we have come to meet each other. While we have, of late, started to stress in particular the importance of civil and political rights—and all our legislation is now moving in that direction—in the West they have started more and more, and increasingly actively, to defend economic and social rights, including at the political level. There is thus a rapprochement of positions taking place and mutual enrichment of each other.

United States & Canada

Correspondent Outlines Baker Confirmation Hearings

LD1801185989 Moscow TASS in English 1034 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Washington January 18 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Andrey Fedyashin:

U.S. Secretary of State-designate James A. Baker III, appearing at the confirmation hearing before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Tuesday, said that the incoming administration intended to hold still more intensive consultations with Congress on foreign policy issues.

Under the Reagan Administration, clashes of opinion between the White House and Congress on foreign policy problems became chronic. This particularly applied to Reagan's policy in Central America.

Baker, 58, a Texas multimillionaire, is a close friend of U.S. President-elect George Bush and, in a common view, will become one of the most influential figures in his administration.

He held the posts of the White House chief of staff and the secretary of the Treasury in the Reagan Administration. He was in charge of the election campaign of George Bush and was the main adviser in the selection of candidates for leading positions in his administration.

On the whole Baker's pronouncements did not clarify whether the new administration would intend to return to Reagan's bankrupt policy of supplying the Nicaraguan contras with weapons. He only stated that the United States would insist on the defense of human rights in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and neighbouring countries, fairly evaluating them on the basis of equal standards.

Touching upon a number of other directions of U.S. foreign policy, Baker emphasized that the Bush administration on the whole intended to follow the outgoing administration's Middle East policy but would be free to add or modify the Middle East policy as required by circumstances.

He pointed out that the administration would reconsider its policy with regard to the debt problem of Third-World countries, saying at the same time that a radical provision of the economic policies of the debtor countries would be needed to repay the debt.

Baker emphasized that the incoming administration would give much attention to securing a ban on chemical weapons, to efforts to stop proliferation of missile weaponry in Third-World countries, and to coordinating international measures to protect the environment and to combat narcotics smuggling.

His confirmation at the post is believed to be a mere formality because he enjoys a considerable prestige both among the Republican and Democratic circles in Congress.

Pell, Biden Address Hearings

LD1801191789 Moscow TASS in English 1136 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Washington January 18 TASS—By TASS Correspondent Andrey Fedyashin:

Members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee urged the incoming administration of George Bush, who will be sworn in on January 20 as the 41st President of the United States, not to lose momentum in arms control talks with the Soviet Union.

Hearings to confirm James Baker as U.S. secretary of state began in the committee on Tuesday.

Senator Clairborne Pell (Democrat, Rhode Island), chairman of this influential committee, emphasized that, in his view the incoming administration had no priority more important than to go ahead in the field of arms control together with the Soviet Union, particularly in the field of strategic arms.

The U.S. senator pointed out that the recent evolution in this field and the statements made illustrated the new thinking both in Washington and in Moscow.

At the same time he cautioned the incoming administration which, according to Baker, intends attentively to consider Reagan's negotiating position, against listening to the advice of those in the United States who suggest linking nuclear arsenals reductions with cuts in conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe.

The need to reduce the risk of nuclear war is of such importance that we should not create new obstacles to the conclusion of a treaty with the Soviet Union on reducing strategic offensive arms by linking the two problems with each other, Pell said.

The senator said it would be a bad politic to turn bilateral Soviet-American S.T.A.R.T. negotiations into "hostage" of multilateral negotiations on reducing the armed forces and armaments in Europe.

Senator Joseph Biden (Democrat, Delaware) pointed out, for his part, that the new administration should without delay substantiate its negotiating position and not drag out its revision.

History would not consider us wise if we shall not carry on active diplomacy and show energetic readiness to come to terms and to conclude deals, he said.

More on Conference With U.S. at United Nations

LD1801223989 Moscow TASS in English 1427 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] New York January 18 TASS—By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov:

The development of Soviet-American trade-economic relations is being discussed by the participants of the "Peace Through Trade, Investments and Development" conference which is now taking place in United Nations' Headquarters. During the two day forum the leaders of different Soviet foreign trade organisations and enterprises will acquaint American firms' representatives with Soviet economic reform which can aid wide economic cooperation between the two countries.

"The conference is taking place inside the United Nations' building because it's important for our organisation to join the process of undermining barriers which still exist to East-West economic cooperation, Pedro Sanjuan [name as received], one of the U.N. organisers of the forum said to a TASS correspondent. Soviet and United States leaders have already agreed that trade and economic relations are the basis of stability. And stability means peace. The most important task for the United Nations organisation is to make the peace process irreversible. The most effective way to achieve this is to establish wide mutually dependant economic links.

"The two social systems differ greatly. But we can't retreat into isolationism. This is why the United Nations organisation helps such conferences. We think that similar forums will take place in future. Attention is paid not only to the possibilities of trade between the two countries but how to overcome barriers which prevent the development of economic relations. This is a new long-term U.N. initiative, said Sanjuan.

U.S. Anti-Satellite Weapons Program Reported

LD1801185489 Moscow TASS in English 1004 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] New York January 18 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Sitov:

The Pentagon intends to resume and intensify efforts to develop anti-satellite weapons (ASAT).

An authoritative U.S. weekly, the AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY, has reported that the procurement agency of the U.S. Department of Defense has recommended that the main role in an ASAT program be assigned to the U.S. Army. U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci is expected to endorse the recommendation shortly.

Paul Mann, head of the weekly's Washington bureau, has told the TASS correspondent that it is virtually a question of a new program for the development of anti-satellite weapons. Its emergence has been prompted by the fact that a previous such program encountered opposition in U.S. Congress where there is rather strong sentiment against testing and deploying ASAT systems provided the Soviet Union also refrains from doing that. Besides, U.S. Air Force experts who were in charge of the previous program believe that it has become morally obsolescent.

This time it has been recommended that the coordinating role be assigned to the Army which has a special subdivision dealing with ASAT. The Army is prepared to consider any versions for the deployment of future systems unlike the Navy, for example, which shows interest only in sea-based armaments.

Lieutenant General John Piotrowski of the U.S. Air Force, who is heading the U.S. Space Command and the North American Joint Aerospace Defense command, maintains that a new ASAT program will involve all the three armed services.

The central place in the new program will be assigned to a weapon system based on the use of lasers. It is contemplated to utilize so far a chemical laser dubbed Miracl (Mid-infrared Advanced Chemical Laser), and to develop free-electron laser systems in future.

Recently the Pentagon took a decision to modernize one of such lasers for tests under an ASAT program. Last year the Congress lifted the ban on such tests. The question must be now considered by the defense secretary of the incoming U.S. Administration which will take office in several days' time.

Since the development of laser weapons, in experts' view, will take a lot of time, ASAT advocates press for the first priority development of a kinetic-energy system for which technological novelties created during research under the Star Wars program are expected to be used. Meant, in particular, are systems to intercept warheads by means of strike components launched from vertical pipes. Such launchers are already available on some U.S. Navy ships and, subsequently, they could be made mobile and land-based, Piotrowski said.

The AVIATION WEEK AND SPACE TECHNOLOGY writes that ASAT opponents in U.S. Congress attentively follow the Pentagon's latest actions but do not unite so far for an organized rebuff to the resumption of the program.

Congressman George Brown (Democrat, Georgia) is reckoned one of the leaders of opposition to ASAT. He said he was greatly worried by any attempts to convert an ASAT system for testing and deployment, since that would have

a destabilizing effect on the U.S. relations with the Russians. Brown said that a resumption of the ASAT program would encounter strong objections in the Appropriations and Armed Services Committees of both houses of the U.S. Congress.

China

Rogachev Points to Improved Relations With PRC

OW1801230589 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Dear listeners: The weekly journal MOSCOW NEWS carries a report on a speech [as heard] by Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, on Soviet-Chinese relations. The following are excerpts of his speech:

Question: What place does China occupy in Soviet foreign policy?

Answer: The Soviet Union and China are the two largest socialist nations. They are neighboring countries, and both of them are permanent members of the UN Security Council. I firmly believe that 1989 will go down in the history of Soviet-Chinese ties because of the forthcoming summit meeting. The two countries have already reached an understanding in principle in this connection. It looks like Gorbachev will visit China, hopefully during the first half of this year. China is a socialist nation. You know that socialist nations are given top priority in Soviet foreign policy. We share a common goal in building socialism and communism. This goal has been clearly written into the constitutions of both nations and the party constitutions of both parties. That is to say that our common interests have linked us together.

Question: Perhaps it is because no other nation shares such a long border with our country. This alone gives China its priority position.

Answer: Absolutely correct. The Soviet-Chinese border is more than 7,500 kilometers long. We will try our best to turn this border into one to bind our two countries instead of separating us.

Rogachev said: We also have scored achievements in this regard. The government delegations of the two countries have held talks on border issues for 2 years now. Such talks were also held in the past. For example, similar talks continued for more than 8 months in 1964. Later, talks were held from 1969 to 1978. However, the atmosphere in Soviet-Chinese relations during that period was completely different. The stands adopted by the two delegations were at least unalterable and unflinching, if not stubborn. Therefore, it was hard to make any progress. Three rounds of talks on border issues were held in 1987-1988.

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev told the reporter of the weekly journal MOSCOW NEWS in the interview: These talks are important, because an agreement was reached to set up experts' working groups. Experts of the working groups will periodically meet either in Moscow or Beijing to discuss border issues. We have exchanged maps and reached an agreement on taking aerial photos. It should be realized that this is a 7,000-kilometer-long boundary. Work in this regard is being carried out smoothly and in a coordinated manner by the representatives of the armed forces of the two countries. Incidentally, I would like to mention that the Soviet and Chinese Defense Ministries have not contacted each other for about 30 years.

Question: Perhaps the priority in foreign affairs is influenced to a certain extent by the future of Soviet-Chinese relations in the Asia-Pacific region. What is your opinion about this region?

Answer: Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev said: We can draw the conclusion by comparing our stands on key issues in international relations. The Soviet Union and China have many identical and similar views on these issues. Soviet leader Gorbachev has clearly and extensively elucidated our views on the future and the world in his statement made on 15 January 1986 and his speeches at Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk, as well as in his speech in New York on 7 December of the same year.

In December last year, Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forward the theory of a new international political order. In this theory, we have seen new elements consonant with the Soviet program for a safe and fair world. Actually, in the Asia-Pacific region and in the international arena as a whole, both the Soviet Union and China have resolutely advocated disarmament, relaxation of tensions, and the establishment of an atmosphere of good-neighborly relations, stability and cooperation. Both countries oppose military blocs. This is extremely important. The Soviet Union long ago showed its willingness to simultaneously dissolve the Warsaw Pact and NATO. There is no such bloc in the Asia-Pacific region, nor does China plan to form any alliance or bloc. The Chinese leaders have more than once made statements in this connection. We believe there is no need to form any military or political alliance in the Asian-Pacific Region. We should find ways to ensure security in this region by pooling the efforts of various countries. This constitutes a component part of international security.

Listeners and friends: Please continue to hear Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev's answers to the questions raised by the reporter from the weekly journal MOSCOW NEWS.

The reporter asked if the period of poor relations between the Soviet Union and China will reappear.

Answer: The Chinese comrades said that Sino-Soviet relations would not return to those of the 1950's, and they again said there should not be a repetition of the situation of the 1960's and 1970's. What they refer to are the two periods of extremes: the period of alliance and the period of confrontation since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. We agree with this view that the situations in the 1950's, 1960's, and 1970's should not reappear. Right now, we hope to work with the Chinese comrades in setting up a new type of relations with China based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, good-neighborliness and friendly cooperation. Very soon, at the beginning of February, Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze will visit China. I have already said that later, that is, after several months, Comrade Gorbachev will also visit China. I believe that an important agreement determining the prospects for Soviet-Chinese relations should be reached at the summit meeting in Beijing.

Question: Right now, it is extremely important for the world to correctly understand the nature, trend and prospects in Soviet-Chinese relations. You have spent some time working for the Soviet Embassy in the United States. What is the U.S. attitude, either in the past or at present, toward the development of Soviet-Chinese relations? What is your view?

Answer: For some time after the signing of the well-known Shanghai Communique during U.S. President Nixon's formal visit to China in 1972, the United States and other Western countries tried their utmost to play the China trump card. We may as well recall the entire situation at that time, that is, the atmosphere of confrontation—there were people who wanted to draw China into the capitalist camp in an attempt to make China stand at the other end of (?confrontation). In my opinion, all of these have gradually disappeared. An analysis of world reactions on the eve of the complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations shows a favorable response. For example, a senior U.S. official has remarked that Washington would not worry about an improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations. High-ranking Soviet officials have also stated time and again that we strive to expand contacts with China not at all at the expense of China's relations with other countries. By the way, normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will not affect Soviet relations with its allies and friends. Both the Soviet Union and China are carrying out economic and political structural reforms. Moscow and Beijing have publicly declared that the process of reform and that of modernization need, most of all, a peaceful external environment.

Question: How will the Soviet Union and China benefit from the summit after a prolonged interruption, and what significance will it have for the development of the situation in the world as a whole?

Answer: As is known by all, the absence of meetings between Moscow and Beijing for several decades is a historic anomaly. The sooner this historic error is corrected, the better. The time has come. I believe the Soviet-Chinese summit will be welcomed by the whole world. As Gorbachev said in Krasnoyarsk, we stand for a complete normalization of relations with the PRC, and want to develop such relations to a level commensurate with our two countries' responsibilities to global policies. We can say now that the agenda of the summit will include the question of complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations as well as discussions on global issues of concern to the entire international community—disarmament, the lowering of global military confrontation, including the military confrontation in the Asia-Pacific region, and solutions to regional conflicts. The Soviet Union and China are sharing more and more identical views on regional conflicts. Of course, the two sides will discuss the situation in Indochina, taking into account, that is, the equilibrium of interests of all parties concerned in seeking a political settlement to the longest and most sensitive conflict in the world. Therefore, it would be difficult to estimate the significance of Soviet-Chinese summit. I believe that our friends and partners of cooperation in the world arena especially hope the summit will be a success.

PRC Consular Delegation Holds Talks in Moscow

LD1601134589 Moscow TASS in English 1332 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 16 TASS—In keeping with an earlier understanding, a working meeting of delegations from consular departments of the Soviet and Chinese foreign ministries was held in Moscow from January 9 through 16.

The sides exchanged views on the observance of the operating Soviet-Chinese consular agreements, looked into the status of Soviet citizens permanently residing in China and vice versa, discussed the prospects for further cooperation in the consular domain.

The Chinese delegation was received by Igor Rogachev and Boris Chaplin, deputy foreign ministers of the USSR, had a talk at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, and travelled to the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic.

PRC Welcomes Positive CW Conference Results

LD1201230188 Moscow TASS in English 2207 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Beijing January 13 TASS—By TASS correspondent Gennadiy Krivosheyev:

China welcomes the positive results of the recent international conference on chemical weapons in Paris, Li Zhaoxing, a spokesman for the Chinese Foreign Ministry, told a news briefing for foreign and Chinese journalists on Thursday. [12 January]

He said that the final declaration was passed unanimously thanks to the joint efforts of all participants in the representative conference. "We express the hope"

the Chinese spokesman said, "that the conference and the declaration would help sign as soon as possible the international convention banning chemical weapons."

Academician Interviewed on PRC Medical Contacts

OW1701210389 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Soviet-Chinese cultural cooperation and professional contacts between Soviet and Chinese experts in all fields have markedly expanded in the past 1 or 2 years. Academician (Bogorovskiy), president of the Soviet Academy of Medical Sciences, talked to station reporter Kadin about contacts between Soviet and Chinese medical experts.

[(Bogorovskiy) is heard briefly, speaking in Russian, fading out after a few seconds] Academician (Bogorovskiy) talked about the visit to the PRC by a delegation from the Soviet Academy of Medical Sciences led by him more than a year ago. The delegation was made up of medical experts from different specialties, each having his own academic interests.

Academician (Bogorovskiy) said: Our Chinese counterparts showed us all the things of interest to us. We visited scientific research institutes, government offices, schools, and hospitals. I should say that many scientific research institutes in China are equipped with apparatus manufactured with the latest technology in medical science. Chinese medical experts sent abroad to engage in scientific work and undergo training have brought home modernized equipment.

Our scientists were delighted, because in China they were able to meet their Chinese associates who had graduated from Soviet graduate schools or who had undergone training in the Soviet Union many years ago. Generally speaking, Soviet medical experts were treated with hospitality in China. Therefore, our visit was a very fruitful and delightful one.

At the station reporter's request, Academician (Bogorovskiy) described the visits to the Soviet Union by delegations of Chinese medical experts 1 and ½ to 2 years ago.

[(Bogorovskiy) is heard briefly, speaking in Russian, fading out after a few seconds] Two delegations of Chinese medical experts have visited the Soviet Union. One was from the Chinese Academy of Medical Sciences, and the other was from China's Ministry of Public Health. Our academy's research fellows and I held many useful meetings with the delegation from the Chinese Academy of Medical Sciences. Our Chinese counterparts familiarized themselves with the work of the many research institutes under the Soviet Academy of Medical Sciences, met with our scientists, and discussed questions of interest to them.

It is regrettable that I was not able to meet with the second delegation, as I was in China at that time. Soviet-Chinese medical experts share common interests in their professions, including oncology, the study of contagious diseases, surgery, nutrition, pediatrics, and many other medical fields.

In conclusion, Academician (Bogorovskiy) said: Understanding by Soviet and Chinese medical experts of each other's achievements in these fields will benefit both sides.

Work Proceeds on Soviet-Chinese Border Bridge

LD1801223589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0100 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Within the framework of an agreement on the opening, in March of this year, of the first regular bus traffic across the Soviet-Chinese border, work has been under way on the construction of a new bridge on the river Khorgos, which runs along the border between the USSR and China. In view of the expansion of bilateral contacts in the economy, science, trade, and tourism, an agreement has been reached to organize daily passenger transportation and to increase the volume of freight transportation.

Soviet, Chinese Delegations Sign Tractor Contract

OW1701143189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Helongjiang provincial and Soviet delegations have signed an agreement on joint production of small 3-horsepower tractors.

According to the agreement, several thousand units will be manufactured in the first half of this year. Output may reach 10,000 or 20,000 units next year. All products will be marketed in the Soviet Union.

Heilongjiang-Soviet Border Trade Figures Noted

OW1501095389 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] Heilongjiang Province signed trade contracts totaling 607 million francs with Soviet border regions at the end of last November. Barter trade between the two countries amounted to 146 million francs in the same period [as heard], an increase of 3.2 times over the same period of the previous year. Nine trading points have been set up along the border of Heilongjiang Province. Some 100 enterprises in the province have established trade relations with the local foreign trade organizations of the Soviet Union.

Soviet Students in China Study 'Needed' Subjects

OW1701165389 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 14 Jan 89

[Text] More than 2,000 students from 110 countries are studying in China, majoring in more than 200 specialized courses. There are 300 Soviet students studying in

institutions of higher learning in Beijing, Shanghai, Nanjing, and other cities. They are majoring in very much needed specialized subjects.

According to a spokesman of China's State Education Commission, China will admit over 2,000 foreign students in 1989.

More than 3,000 Chinese students will study in 70 countries in 1989. The Soviet Union plans to admit 600 Chinese students this year.

Northeast Asia

Japan's Nakasone, Other Leaders Arrive for Talks

Nakasone To Meet With Gorbachev

OW1601051089 Tokyo KYODO in English 0412 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, Jan. 15 KYODO—Former Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone arrived here from Paris Sunday night with former French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing and former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

The trio will meet Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on Wednesday as part of their work in preparing a report on the West bloc's policy toward the Soviet Union.

Nakasone will also meet Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the Soviet Institute of World Economy and International Relations.

Yakovlev Receives Nakasone

LD1701172789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today received Yasuhiro Nakasone, prominent political figure and former prime minister of Japan, on the latter's request. Matters pertaining to Soviet-Japanese relations and the situation in the Asian-Pacific region were discussed.

Tokyo Reports Yakovlev Meeting

OW1701151089 Tokyo KYODO in English 1449 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, Jan. 17 KYODO—Soviet Communist Party Politburo Member Aleksandr N. Yakovlev on Tuesday confirmed that party chief Mikhail Gorbachev expects to visit Japan in the future but that further progress in Japan-Soviet relations must come before the top Soviet leader can make the journey.

Yakovlev, party secretary in charge of international policy, made the remarks during a meeting here with former Japanese Premier Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, according to Nakasone's aides.

Yakovlev said he thinks Gorbachev's future visit to Japan is only a matter of time, but he told Nakasone that the groundwork for Gorbachev's Japan trip should be prepared in advance, the sources said.

Nakasone arrived here Sunday night with former French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing and former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. The trio will meet Gorbachev on Wednesday as part of their work in preparing a report on the West's policy toward the Soviet Union.

When Nakasone asked whether Gorbachev would visit Japan by the end of the year, Yakovlev gave no direct reply, according to Nakasone's aides.

Yakovlev referred only to a national assembly election scheduled for late March and Gorbachev's planned visits to Britain and Cuba, the sources said.

During the 90-minute meeting with Yakovlev, Nakasone suggested that Gorbachev should send a delegation to Japan to gather insight into Japan's economic situation, Nakasone's aides said.

Nakasone suggested that the Soviet delegation could survey Japanese business management, securities and finance, labor, science and technology and report directly to the Soviet leader on such topics.

Yakovlev promised to convey Nakasone's suggestion to Gorbachev, the sources said.

If Gorbachev dispatches such a delegation to Japan, Japan would send a private-level mission to Moscow to study Japan-Soviet joint investment, Nakasone told Yakovlev.

Gorbachev Desires Japan Visit

OW1801152289 Tokyo KYODO in English 1459 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, Jan. 18 KYODO—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev on Wednesday expressed his strong desire to visit Japan in the near future.

The Soviet leader expressed his wish to former Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone just after a meeting with former French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing, former U.S. Secretary Henry Kissinger and Nakasone, the Japanese politician said. However, Gorbachev did not mention the date for the visit, Nakasone said.

Details of the meeting will not be made public until after a report by the three visitors on the West's policy toward the Soviet Union has been compiled in April.

During the two-and-a-half hour meeting, they exchanged views on perestroyka (restructuring), East-West relations, arms reduction and the Soviet Union's participation in international economic agencies, Nakasone said.

Gorbachev called for cooperation from the West in promoting reforms and the Soviet transition into a more international state, he said.

As for perestroyka, the Soviet leader was quoted as saying that although he does have difficulties, he has taken adequate measures and that reforms will make progress.

Prior to the meeting, they exchanged views with former Soviet Armed Forces Chief of Staff Sergey F. Akhromeyev.

Akhromeyev pledged that the Soviet Union would never divert the soldiers who are to be pulled back from the European front to the Soviet Far East and that his country would announce publicly the strength of its military forces in the Soviet Far East in the near future.

Nakasone arrived here Sunday with the former French president and the former U.S. secretary of state.

Gorbachev on Planned Japan Visit, Hirohito Funeral
OW1801124489 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 1000 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] According to Moscow correspondent Morohoshi, former Prime Minister Nakasone, who is on a visit to the Soviet Union, held talks with General Secretary Gorbachev this evening Japan time, and General Secretary Gorbachev at the talks indicated his plan to dispatch a high-level official to Taiso-no Rei [the imperial funeral] for His Majesty the late Emperor, scheduled for 24 February.

It was the first meeting former Prime Minister Nakasone had held with General Secretary Gorbachev for half a year, since last July.

At the beginning of the talks, the press corps asked General Secretary Gorbachev whom he planned to send to Taiso-no Rei for His Majesty the late Emperor. In reply, General Secretary Gorbachev said that a plan to dispatch a high-level official was currently under study.

Commenting on the question of his own visit to Japan, he said: I have already stated that I want to visit Japan, but consultations are now under way concerning the specific date.

Former Prime Minister Nakasone said that at his talks with General Secretary Gorbachev he wanted to sound the Soviet side on its true intentions regarding the northern territorial issue, the most important issue pending between Japan and the Soviet Union.

South Korea's No Wants Better Socialist Ties
LD1701194389 Moscow TASS in English 1834 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Pyongyang January 17 TASS—South Korean President No Tae-u has declared a desire to seek better relations with the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries, including the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, YONHAP NEWS AGENCY reported from Seoul.

Speaking at a news conference in his official residence on Tuesday, he called for an early meeting with Kim il-Song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and president of the DPRK.

No said that the meeting will achieve epoch-making progress in resolving inter-Korean problems.

He added that South Korea will suggest a new and realistic formula for reunification, which will be based on the recognition of the DPRK as a partner in seeking the goal.

The formula, according to No, is to be worked out with regard for the opinions of different political parties and sections of the population in South Korea as well as for the DPRK's position on the issue.

He expressed the hope that the development of Seoul's relations with socialist countries will help create an international situation favorable to Korea's reunification.

At a conference yesterday with the participation of Yi Hong-ku, minister of the national unification board, the president ordered the establishment of a special advisory council on exchanges and cooperation with the DPRK, which will mostly include businessmen, and of a government agency that will be concerned exclusively with relations with the DPRK.

It was decided to carry on efforts towards talks between ranking representatives of the governments of north and south, an interparliamentary forum, resumed contacts by Red Cross and other channels, and agreements with the DPRK on specific issues of developing trade, economic relations, tourism and communications.

As a practical measure going in the same direction, it was announced in Seoul on the same day that all goods bearing the "made in the DPRK" trademark are exempted from any taxes and duties.

The government, Yi told the conference, recommended universities and other higher schools to open departments to train specialists in DPRK studies and increase research into inter-Korean problems.

Besides, it was decided to make changes to textbooks, which have to this day represented the northern part of the country as an "enemy", and add material prompting an interest in life in the DPRK and in the reunification issue.

Among other things, it is provided to study the period of the Korean War (1950-53) in such a way as to educate young people in a spirit of decisive opposition to any war rather than hostility towards North Korea.

Another issue also discussed in Seoul, YONHAP reported, was that of allowing direct television and radio broadcasts from the DPRK to South Korea.

The Korean Federation of Journalists' Trade Unions, which unites reporters and writers from 43 leading news outlets in South Korea, suggested on Monday journalist exchanges with the DPRK.

Hyundai's Chong Chu-yong Calls for Soviet Trade

SK1401060889 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Chong Chu-yong, honorary chairman of the Hyundai Group, a large and leading business group in South Korea, called for developing trade relations with the Soviet Union. He is now staying in the Soviet Union as head of the South Korean delegation of businessmen. In an interview with IZVESTIYA, Chairman Chong said that he is looking into the possibility of building an aluminum plant, producing pulp, and developing forest resources in the Soviet Union, and stressed that the Hyundai Group will be able to participate more effectively in the work to carry out the industrial projects in Siberia and the Soviet Far East.

Near East & South Asia

Iran Welcomes Soviet Policy, Will Aid Pullout

PM1901165589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "On Prospects for Cooperation"]

[Text] Havana, 18 Jan—Relations between Iran and the USSR have recently reached a very high level and are developing in a direction making it possible to raise them to an even higher level. Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister M. Larijani, who was in Cuba, stated this in an interview with TASS correspondents. We have openly supported the USSR's policy in our region and believe that Iranian-Soviet relations can reach a strategic level, he said.

Our economic and technical cooperation is expanding substantially, and we are also very happy with this, the deputy minister noted. We have many spheres for its development. We have great opportunities to develop trade. There are good prospects for cooperation in the sphere of the power industry and metallurgy, in a number of sectors of light industry and agriculture, and in the scientific and cultural spheres.

Dwelling on the recent visit to Moscow by an Iranian delegation led by Ayatollah Jawadi-Amoli, personal representative of the Iranian leader, Imam Khomeyni, M. Larijani described this visit as a "very important mission." He noted the innovative leadership style of M.S. Gorbachev and his boldness in resolving specific problems and criticizing mistakes, regardless of who makes them. M.S. Gorbachev, he said, is a highly respected figure not only in the Soviet Union, but throughout the world, his policy is attractive, and the leaders of the major countries are following it very closely. It differs significantly from the USSR's previous policy and is based on new principles.

The deputy minister highly assessed M.S. Gorbachev's speech to the United Nations. In his words, it "made a superb impression" and showed that the Soviet Union really intends to proceed along the path of disarmament. "M.S. Gorbachev's speech to the United Nations is attracting the attention of the entire world, particularly those aspects which concern disarmament," M. Larijani indicated.

There has always been tremendous potential in our relations with the USSR, M. Larijani continued. But in the past there were obstacles which prevented their development. First, there was the war in the Persian Gulf, and, second, there was Afghanistan. Now the war has ended and the problem of Afghanistan is also being resolved. After the settlement of these problems we see no obstacles to the development of bilateral relations.

Dwelling on the situation around Afghanistan, M. Larijani said: "Above all M.S. Gorbachev's policy directed at withdrawing Soviet troops by 15 February, the signing of the Geneva agreements—this is a great policy, and I think that it will be crowned with success." Now, he continued, the Soviet Union is faced with three basic questions. It is necessary to withdraw the forces without losses. We believe that the USSR must have the chance to withdraw its forces without being subjected to military attacks. Second, after the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan the Soviet Union would not want a government which is hostile to it to be set up in Kabul. We believe that this is also correct. Any government which comes to power in Kabul must not be hostile toward its neighbors. This government must support good-neighborly relations with all countries, and this is also correct. The third question facing the Soviet Union is that after the troop withdrawal there must be no bloodshed in Afghanistan. We do not support bloodshed. Iran will assist in resolving the three basic questions facing the Soviet Union in Afghanistan.

Soviet Gas Delegation Signs Protocol With Iran

LD1201172889 Tehran Television Service in Persian 1600 GMT 12 Jan 89

[Text] A team of Soviet technical experts, headed by Kashirov, USSR deputy gas industry minister, arrived in Tehran today. Their arrival is in line with the implementation of the Iran-USSR economic cooperation protocol. They will visit the main Iran gas pipeline and will assess the possibilities of exporting Iranian gas to the USSR.

On arrival the team members were welcomed by the deputy oil minister and managing director of the National Iranian Gas Company.

In an interview with a Central News Unit correspondent, the head of the Soviet technical delegation said: The Soviet experts, accompanied by Iranian experts, will survey and inspect the main gas pipeline, booster stations, and the technical establishments of the Iranian gas industry.

The deputy oil minister and managing director of the National Iranian Gas company said: According to the protocol which has been signed, the two countries have agreed in principle that Iran export 2-3 billion cubic meters of gas annually to the Soviet Union. He added: Under present conditions of gas production, consumption, and export, there is no need to build new gas pipelines to export gas to the Soviet Union. He said building new gas pipelines is intended only to meet the expansion of gas consumption in the domestic market.

Afghan Reports Pakistani Helicopters Destroyed

LD1901095789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0830 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Excerpt] Kabul, 19 Jan (TASS)—A representative of the Afghan Army announced that two helicopters of the Pakistani Air Force intruded into the republic's air space on 18 January, landed in the area of (Yasin-Babay), and delivered a group of foreign military advisers and representatives of the Afghan opposition from Peshawar. Halting this new act of aggression, subunits of the Republic of Afghanistan Armed Forces struck at the landing site and destroyed the helicopters and all the people in them. [passage omitted]

UN Spokesman Reviews Afghan Withdrawal Progress

LD1801120889 Moscow TASS in English 1121 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] New York January 18 TASS—"We have no reasons to believe that Soviet troops will not withdraw from Afghanistan by February 15," Benon Sevan, the U.N. secretary-general's alternate representative on Afghanistan, said at a news conference on Tuesday. He arrived in New York for consultations.

Sevan said he maintained permanent contact with all the parties as well as with representatives of various Afghan groups.

At present they are preparing to hold shura, or a consultative council, to the convocation of which representatives of all groups agreed. This will be the first step towards the start of intra-Afghan dialogue, he said. Contacts are maintained at various levels between representatives of the Afghan Government and Afghan groups of armed opposition, although formally talks have not yet been started, he said.

The main task in this situation, the U.N. spokesman said, is to convince all the parties of the need to stop hostile actions. Only Afghans themselves can resolve the question of forming a broad-based government. In this connection the U.N. secretary-general expresses readiness to render assistance to them in a form they will request him to do so, Sevan emphasized.

We are confident that the conflict will be settled soon, although the U.N. secretary-general expresses concern over too slow moves to peace. However, we realise that a rapid progress in this cause is impossible after ten years of hostility.

Commentary on Need for Mediation in Afghanistan

LD1901110989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 18 Jan 89

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Andrey Ptashnikov]

[Text] Foreign news agencies report that Benon Sevan, UN alternative representative in charge of the issues on settling the situation in Afghanistan, has stated in New York that the opposition Afghan groups agreed to convene a traditional Afghan consultative council, or shura. The task of this council will be to form a transitional Afghan Government. I will ask my colleague Aleksandr Malikov to comment on this report.

[Begin Malikov recording] The main issue now is how to stop the bloodshed. Diplomats are racking their brains over it and it is being discussed in government circles in Kabul, Islamabad, and Tehran. The Peshawar "Alliance of Seven" has been conducting discussions on this subject in Iran with eight Iranian opposition groups. So far, all the sides involved to varying degrees in the Afghan conflict have reduced their positions to only one common denominator: the need to convene a shura to work on what is perhaps the most difficult question—solving the conflict and determining the composition of a future transitional government. The idea is being supported in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and in the United Nations. We support it as well. But the common point in the positions of all the sides seems to end here, because there is no single opinion on the central problem of who precisely is to be in the consultative council, and consequently, who eventually is to be entrusted with forming the first post-war government on Afghan soil. Benon Sevan, UN representative, who for the last few weeks has been shuttling between Kabul and the Alliance of Seven's headquarters in Peshawar, has expressed the hope that all the elements of Afghan society will be represented at the shura. The opposition, however, has not yet withdrawn its categorical objection to PDPA representatives taking part in the organ. Afghan President Najibullah has made a sensible remark about this—that a consultative council will be unable to solve the conflict if the PDPA does not participate. Indeed, any administrative organ which does not include representatives of the 200,000-strong party is doomed to turn into an artificial power structure, and will be unable to function. A certain

part of the opposition does not go beyond a nebulous formulation about its preparedness to cooperate with good Muslims, including those close to the current Kabul government. There is no agreement among its ranks on the role of the former monarch, King Zahir Shah, in the process of peaceful settlement, either. It is well known that Mojaddedi, leader of the "Alliance of Seven", is in favor of engaging the king in peacemaking efforts, while the fundamentalist wing of the opposition has sworn to Allah that it will prevent the king from returning to Afghanistan.

In a word, the loudly proclaimed intention of opposition groups to get down to creating a transitional government as early as next month has not been substantiated. Of course, only the Afghans themselves can and must solve their fate, especially now as they are being prompted to do this by the withdrawal of our troops from the country. Yet it is still unclear how they can reach an agreement between themselves if they are not helped in this matter—in other words, if mediation is not undertaken. That is why we are not closing doors on continuing a dialogue with the opposition, something that Comrade Shevardnadze confirmed once again in his recent interview with BAKHTAR. One is pleased to see that the United Nations, too, has engaged itself actively in seeking compromise versions of national concord in Afghanistan. One would like to believe that the words of Benon Sevan, its representative, who has expressed confidence that the Afghan conflict will be solved soon, will come true. [end recording]

Afghan Scene Viewed as Soviets Withdraw

PM1801152788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed report by Yevg. Bay in Moscow based on dispatches from N. Paklin in Delhi and Igor Shishkov in Kabul: "Afghanistan—The Door Is Still Open"]

[Text] All the world's leading newspapers are publishing commentaries on the results of USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze's visit to Kabul. There is special interest in this visit. On the eve of the visit, the report came in from Islamabad that the leaders of the "Alliance of Seven" had refused to continue talks with the Soviet Union. Many observers were quick to conclude that the talks had reached an impasse and that, under these conditions, the Soviet Government might delay the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan.

However, opinions began to change after E.A. Shevardnadze's visit. The biggest Indian newspapers, our correspondent has reported from Delhi, are unanimous that the USSR intends to continue giving all-round assistance to the Afghan Government. This does not mean, however, they point out, that Moscow is going to give in to emotions and refuse to continue the dialogue with the armed opposition. As far as Moscow and Kabul are concerned, the door is still open to contacts for constructive dialogue with the "Alliance of Seven," the "Alliance of Eight," Zahir Shah, and all other opposition and emigre groupings, the newspapers emphasize.

The HINDUSTAN TIMES ranks the possibility of forming a consultative council—which would be temporarily responsible for running the country—as a new feature in the panorama of events. The plan is that this council will incorporate representatives of all strata of the Afghan people, including the armed opposition and Afghan refugees. The Indian newspaper THE STATESMAN, incidentally, has polled six leaders of the Afghan refugees who are in Delhi. They believe that neither the present government nor the Islamic fundamentalists can lay claim to the sole administration of Afghanistan after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops.

During a visit to Pakistan, our IZVESTIYA correspondent continued, I formed the impression that the new Pakistani government is interested in a peaceful solution to the Afghan problem. The presence of 3.5 million Afghan refugees concentrated in 340 camps hangs like a deadweight on the Pakistani economy, is aggravating the country's social problems, and is causing the economic degradation of extensive territories, Rustan Shakh Mokhmand [name as published], high commissioner responsible for Afghan refugee affairs, said in a conversation.

The policy of trying to achieve a political settlement is also supported by the Iranian authorities. AFP has reported that a 2-day international seminar was held in Tehran to discuss the Afghan problem, in which some 200 specialists from Iran, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Britain, Sri Lanka, and Malaysia took part. Both the Peshawar "Alliance of Seven" and the "Alliance of Eight," which is based on Iranian territory, were represented at the seminar. Addressing the seminar, Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i emphasized that his country "welcomes the direct talks between Soviet representatives and the mujahidin, which began at the end of last year in Saudi Arabia."

According to AFP, B. Rabbani, one of the leaders of the "Alliance of Seven," who is in Tehran, has said for his part that the Afghan mujahidin are prepared to resume the talks with Moscow, broken off in Islamabad on 9 January.

Recent contradictory statements from the leaders of the armed opposition reveal the lack of coordination between the stands taken by the various parties within the "seven" and the lack of any unity among them regarding the question of Afghanistan's future. REUTERS has reported from Islamabad that the leaders of the "alliance" parties will be meeting on 1 February to decide the issue of forming a new "provisional government." G. Hekmatyar, leader of the fundamentalists, said at a press conference that there will be no place in this "government" either for the incumbent Afghan President Najibullah or, it seems, for the former king Zahir Shah.

As is well known, last year the mujahidin announced the proclamation of a "provisional government," which was not even recognized by allies of the armed opposition in the region. To all appearances, the new elections will be another attempt to create a semblance of unity within the "alliance" and increase its influence on Afghan territory, where the struggle between rival parties within the opposition itself intensifies with every day.

In addition to their political "offensive," the leaders of the "intransigents" have stepped up their military onslaught on Kabul. So what is now happening in the Afghan capital?

"After a 3-week lull, the city has come under missile fire again," Igor Shishkov, TASS correspondent in Kabul, told us on the telephone. "Four 'surface-to-surface' missiles which exploded in residential areas of the city took the lives of five people and injured eight."

[Bay] "In the last few days, news agencies have been carrying increasingly frequent reports of an economic blockade of Kabul by the rebels and the threat of starvation and epidemics facing people in the capital. How accurate is this information?"

[Shishkov] "The Salang Pass is open, although vehicles traveling that route often come under fire. On Monday, 120 trucks brought food supplies to Kabul. There are still food lines in the city, but not as many as in December. Electricity is in short supply—half of Kabul has lights, the other half is plunged in darkness. But, on the whole, the situation is comparatively calm."

[Bay] "How is the Soviet colony doing?"

[Shishkov] "Almost all civilian specialists have left the country. The Soviet military hospital has been completely evacuated. But the Afghans know that the Soviet Union has not thrown them to the winds of fate. All the local newspapers have highlighted E. Shevardnadze's words that, while fulfilling our pledges under the Geneva agreements, we will also—despite all obstacles—fulfil all our obligations to the Afghan state under existing treaties in full and to the letter."

Afghan Army Chief Cited in Situation Report

PM1601115389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Jan 89 First Edition p 5

[Lieutenant Colonel I. Yesyutin and Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik "Correspondence from Afghanistan": "Alarming January"]

[Text] There is wintery frost and snow in Kabul this January. The Afghans with whom we have talked in recent days note that there has not been such an unusually cold winter (on individual days the temperature is dropping to minus 15-20 degrees Centigrade) for about 10 years. Now, as in 1980, the heavy snowfalls have paralyzed life in the Afghan capital. The Hayraton-Kabul main transport route is working only intermittently. Alarming reports are coming in from the Salang pass: a 3-meter layer of snow has fallen on its slopes and the road has been iced over. A few days ago avalanches began to descend, cutting off the road over several kilometers. In just one day, from 6 to 7 January, there were 38 avalanches.

Together with the Afghans, subunits of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan—sappers, airborne troops, and servicemen from the traffic control and regulating service—are also waging a complex struggle against the bad weather. We liaised by radio with Hero of the Soviet Union Guards Colonel V. Vostrotin, commander of an airborne paratroop regiment, whose command center is now on the approaches to the pass. He reported that all engineering equipment and tractors have been sent to clear the obstacles and snow drifts and that everything is being done to ensure that convoys with national economic freight for Afghanistan can travel the route as soon as possible.

But the Afghans' chief alarm is connected not with the abundant snowfall or the unusually cold winter but with the situation within the country, which has grown more complex. In a recent television address to his compatriots, Afghan President Najibullah gave a detailed assessment of the present complex situation in the country. He stressed that Afghanistan continues to advocate political solutions for the Afghan problem, but it is prepared to deliver an armed rebuff to everyone who continues to travel the path of bloodshed and fratricide.

As is well known, in early 1989 a 5-day cease-fire adopted by the republic's armed forces was unilaterally set. Unfortunately, some of the intransigent opposition did not support this peace-loving action of the Afghan leadership. As early as the morning of 1 January detachments of extremists from the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" opened fire from heavy weapons on a number of population centers in Nangarhar Province and attacked security posts in Gowshtah district. In all, over the 5-day cease-fire the rebels shelled over 100 military garrisons, security posts, and sentry outposts. Some 17 province administrative centers, including Jalalabad, Gardeyz, Ghazni, Khowst, Qandahar, and Herat, were subjected to the most intensive fire.

In a brief interview with your KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent, Lieutenant General Asef Dalvar [name as transliterated], chief of general staff of the Afghan Army, stressed:

"The implementation of the policy of national conciliation and the government's efforts for a political settlement of the situation within the country do not mean that the Armed Forces have renounced the defense of the people's peaceful life. After the expiration of the 5-day cease-fire, which the opposition ignored, the headquarters of the Supreme High Command of the Republic of

Afghanistan ordered all Armed Forces to resume hostilities, including artillery and bombing and strafing attacks against the intransigents' armed formations. The opposition forces, which have not observed the cease-fire since 1 January, and the base regions where sophisticated weapons and ammunition are continuing to arrive from Pakistan, are those which are being primarily subjected to fire pressure. Soviet troops are not taking part in these combat operations, are not undertaking shelling, and are not delivering air strikes...."

The chief of general staff acquainted me with a few events of the past few days.

Badakhshan Province. Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, military leader of the Islamic Afghan Association, is hurriedly uniting under his command all Islamic Afghan Association forces operating on the province's territory, and is also seeking to enlist to his side the Islamic Party of Afghanistan's armed formations in the northern regions of the country. According to statements from refugees, two so-called divisions with tanks, armored transport vehicles, and air defense facilities have been created in Pandzhsher [name as transliterated]. In a personal message to local ringleaders Mas'ud urged them not to support the policy of national conciliation and to step up the struggle against the Kabul regime "until a definitive and rapid victory."

Nangarhar Province. The opposition is increasing shipments of heavy weapons and ammunition from the central depots of Peshawar to the province's territory. Thus 20-30 trucks a day are being sent to the Hazar Now region, which is 47 m southeast of Jalalabad, from the depots in the Pakistani city of Landi Kotal. At the same time the opposition is activating agitation and propaganda work among the inhabitants of hamlets and captured district centers, promising the peasants all-around aid in restoring their housing and developing agriculture.

Paktia Province. Armed formations headed by ringleader Hakkani [name as transliterated] are stepping up the blockade of Gardeyz—the provincial center—and are impeding the city's supply with bread and necessities. A group of foreign military advisers who arrived from Pakistan in late December is coordinating and directing the combat operations of the opposition detachments.

Konar Province. According to a report from the republic's competent organs, an internecine war is continuing here between the most influential ringleaders—Afzal [name as transliterated] ("Islamic Union for the Liberation of Afghanistan") and Abdullakh [name as transliterated] ("Islamic Party of Afghanistan")—for the possession of undivided power in the province, which the rebels seized in November last year after the withdrawal of government troops. The hostility began in Barikowt over the sharing of captured trophies.

...In this situation, which is growing more complex with every passing day, the government of the Republic of Afghanistan and the country's president are continuing to take every measure to halt the bloodshed and stabilize the situation.

Western Reports of Afghan Atrocities Rebutted

LD1801231289 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] There has been an increasing number of reports in the Western press of late about atrocities allegedly committed by Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan. Incidentally, those reports are curiously alike: poisonous substances, torture, and in general all sorts of horrors are mentioned. To make it sound more real, the charges are said to have been contained in the letters received from the Alliance of Seven, the Afghan opposition which has settled down in Pakistan. Here is what Radio Moscow commentator Yuriy Solton writes:

All these fabrications can only disgust the person. To argue with those who take people for simpletons, and therefore evilly put their own crimes on others, means to degrade oneself. There is only one question that should be made clear: Why is this new outbreak of crude anti-Sovietism taking place at this very moment? As I see it, writes Yuriy Solton, the Alliance of Seven is losing ground. To Kabul's proposals on a cease-fire and national reconciliation, it responds with war. Political and economic terror is stepped up. On instructions from the opposition in Peshawar, the rebels have increased the rocket attacks on the cities. They are also trying to cut off the roads around which food supplies are delivered. Lists with names of those people who were to be annihilated are being circulated. The extremist part of the opposition, which lives on war and hand-outs from abroad, is trying hard to keep on the surface.

It is those extremists who are responsible for the death of the Afghans, for the destruction and for the sufferings in the country. It is they who for the sake of their own interests and in order to monopolize power in the country are sacrificing the lives of their countrymen and hampering the restoration of peace in Afghanistan.

To justify its crimes, the opposition resorts to crude slander, but why do the Western mass media so readily play upon these fabrications? Apparently those who supply the opposition with money and weapons, and encourage it to continue the bloodshed, also want to justify their doings, but it is most unlikely that they will succeed in their efforts.

Afghan Delegation Ends Visit to Uzbekistan

LD1601112789 Moscow TASS in English 1111 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Tashkent January 16 TASS—An Afghan parliamentary delegation ended an official visit to Soviet Uzbekistan and left for home on Monday.

The guests had toured places of interest in the Uzbek capital Tashkent and visited a citrus-growing plant in the suburbs.

The delegation, headed by Khalil Ahmad 'Abawi, leader of the People's Chamber of the Afghan National Council, had a friendly conversation with Uzbek President Pulat Khabibullayev. He briefed the Afghan MPs on restructuring in Soviet Uzbekistan, the current political and economic reform, and the campaign for electing peoples' deputies of the USSR. The sides emphasised their desire to promote peace and traditional good-neighbourly relations between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. The Afghan MPs praised the Soviet Union for its aid to Afghanistan.

Before their departure, a luncheon in honour of the Afghan delegation was given on behalf of the Uzbek Government.

Soviet Mideast Peace Conference Planned

LD1401113289 Kuwait KUNA in English 0948 GMT 14 Jan 89

[Text] Abu Dhabi, Jan 14 (KUNA)—The Soviet Union is planning to [word indistinct] political consultations shortly with Arab countries on developments of the peace process in the Mideast and to hold an international peace conference, "AL-ITIHAD" newspaper said here Saturday.

Official Soviet sources in Moscow told the paper that Soviet first deputy foreign minister Peiz Semertenic will tour Gulf states during the few coming days. The tour includes UAE, Kuwait, Qatar and Oman.

The Soviet diplomat will hold talks during his tour on development of the Palestinian cause in light of the meeting which was held recently in Paris between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens.

Polyakov Meets Palestinian Leaders in Tunis

LD1801190489 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Polyakov, a member of the USSR Foreign Ministry collegium, held working consultations with the PLO leadership in Tunis 15-17 January. Matters concerning the situation in the Middle East and the prospects for putting the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict onto a practical plane were discussed. There was a detailed conversation between the Soviet representative and PLO Executive Committee Chairman 'Arafat.

The sides noted with satisfaction that the constructive decisions and the political program adopted by the Palestine National Council session in Algiers had opened up prospects for convening an international conference on the Middle East. The Palestinian side gave a detailed briefing on the development of the popular uprising against the Israeli occupation on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip. An accord was reached on making Soviet-Palestinian consultations more regular and intensive.

Seminar on Arab-Soviet Dialogue Opens in Cairo

LD1401163289 Moscow TASS in English 1547 GMT 14 Jan 89

[Text] Cairo January 14 TASS—An international seminar on the subject "the Arab-Soviet dialogue" opened in the Egyptian capital today. It is being attended by delegations from 13 countries, by a delegation of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) as well as by representatives of a number of big international and regional organisations, the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO) and the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), in particular.

The Soviet delegation includes Vladimir Vinogradov, the Russian Federation's foreign minister and chairman of the Board of the USSR-A.R.E. Friendship society, and Mikhail Kapitsa, chairman of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

On the agenda of the seminar are matters concerning the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, Soviet-Arab cooperation, and prospects for the development of relations between the USSR and Arab states.

Many important events took place in the world over the past year. They literally shook the world and made people take a fresh look at our planet and at the possibilities for the establishment of fundamentally new relations between states, Mr Hamush, chairman of the Egyptian Afro-Asian solidarity committee, said in an opening speech at the seminar.

Due to the efforts of the entire international community, he pointed out, the fratricidal Iran-Iraq war was stopped, and progress has been achieved in the cause of settling the Afghan problem. The PLO made a stride forward towards the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. Our today's dialogue is to serve the development of Arab-Soviet relations and the strengthening of peace throughout the world, Mr Hamrush said in conclusion.

Said al-Jarwan, minister of the economy and trade of the United Arab Emirates, in his speech at the seminar gave a high appraisal of the USSR foreign policy. He pointed

out the immense historic importance of the peace initiatives put forward at the U.N. General Assembly session by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

The restructuring process taking place in the Soviet Union in the field of both domestic and foreign policies is having a great impact on the international situation, promotes the relaxation of tensions and an end to the arms race, and makes the world safer, the minister emphasized.

Arab countries which are brought together with the Soviet Union by the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation are full of determination to make their contribution to their further development and strengthening, he said.

Soviet-Egyptian Protocol Signed in Cairo
LD1601145189 Moscow TASS in English 1344 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Cairo January 16 TASS—A joint Soviet-Egyptian protocol was signed in Cairo on Sunday on the results of a visit of a Soviet delegation to Egypt.

The delegation led by Anatoliy Mayorets, Soviet electric power development and electrification minister, stayed in Egypt on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the agreement on building the Aswan hydropower complex.

During the visit the delegation met President Husni Mubarak and Prime Minister 'Atif Sidqi.

It also had talks with Mahir Abaza, Egyptian minister of electricity and energy. The sides expressed the mutual desire to expand long-term mutually-beneficial ties between the two countries, including power engineering. They emphasised the importance of economic sites built in Egypt with Soviet assistance, especially of the Aswan hydropower complex, for the country's national economy. Also discussed were specific measures to promote bilateral cooperation in power development and electrification, the participation of Soviet organisations in building a major thermal power station on the Sinai Peninsula, as well as in other projects.

Speaking at the protocol's signing ceremony Egypt's electricity and energy minister Mahir Abaza pointed out its importance for broadening cooperation between the two countries.

Having praised the Soviet Union's role in developing Egypt's power engineering, he said that Egypt was planning to expand its contacts with the Soviet Union in this field.

He said Egypt needed advanced Soviet equipment and wanted to implement a number of major power engineering projects in Egypt jointly with Soviet partners.

Kuwait Oil Delegation Head on Soviet Cooperation
LD1401190789 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1700 GMT 14 Jan 89

[Excerpt] A delegation from the Kuwait Oil Corporation, headed by Mr 'Abdallah al-Roumi, its executive assistant, is currently visiting Moscow. Our correspondent Sergey Ivanov had the following interview with this official:

[Begin recording] [Ivanov] Welcome, Mr 'Abdallah al-Roumi. First of all, I would like to thank you for taking part in the Radio Moscow program. Your delegation has come to the Soviet Union to hold talks with officials from the Soviet oil industry. What matters did you discuss during these talks?

[al-Roumi] First, I would like to say that I am glad and happy to visit the Soviet Union, this great country with which we have long-standing relations. Diplomatic relations between Kuwait and the Soviet Union were established 26 years ago. We hope to see these relations develop and grow in the service of world peace. The aim of the visit is to hold talks with officials in the oil industry about ways to strengthen and develop bilateral relations between us in this field on the one hand, and to pave the way for the visit of petroleum Minister Dinkov to Kuwait in the beginning of February, on the other. During our visit, we met with officials from the oil ministry, the (Naphta Corporation), and officials from other related ministries.

[Ivanov] Thank you. This means that cooperation between the Soviet Union and Kuwait in the field of oil is continuously developing. How do you view the prospects for this cooperation?

[al-Roumi] There are fields and prospects for cooperation between Kuwait and the Soviet Union and this is represented in the building of a number of oil units, the extraction of heavy oil, and the chartering of Russian ships by Kuwaiti oil companies. The entry of Soviet oil companies into the industrial field in Kuwait is significant as it will put them in a competitive and commerical position with international oil corporations from other states. Any success achieved by Soviet oil companies in getting a foothold will have a good impact as it will confirm the ability of these companies to compete internationally. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Kuwaiti Oil Delegation Concludes Visit to Moscow
LD1301173389 Kuwait KUNA in English 1600 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, Jan 13 (KUNA)—A Kuwaiti oil delegation concludes today an official visit to Moscow during which it held talks with Soviet oil officials on economic cooperation between the two countries.

A delegation member told KUNA that they held talks with the concerned officials at the foreign economic relations and the Soviet Petroleum Corporation.

He said talks centred on ways and means of boosting economic cooperation besides reviewing some joint projects executed earlier.

The source said they also discussed a scheduled visit to Kuwait by Soviet Oil Industry Minister Vasily Dinkov early next month at the invitation of his Kuwaiti counterpart Shaykh 'Ali al-Khalifah.

Kuwait and the Soviet Union set up a joint standing committee for economic cooperation following a visit to the Soviet Union by Shaykh Ali in 1987.

The delegation, chaired by assistant executive to the managing director of Kuwaiti Petroleum Corportation 'Abdallah al-Roumi, comprises sales manager for Middle and Near East Hussein al-Shama's, supply manager Ali al-Rasheid and supply coordinator Faisal al-Mudaf [spelling of names as received].

The delegation arrived here last Tuesday. [10 January]

Omani Petroleum Minister, Delegation Visit Moscow

First Official Diplomatic Visit

JN1701173189 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 16 Jan 89 pp 1, 21

[Excerpt] Moscow—Sa'id ibn Ahmad al-Shanfari, Omani minister of petroleum and minerals, and his accompanying delegation arrived in Moscow yesterday aboard a private plane. This is the first visit by an Omani official to the Soviet Union since diplomatic relations were established between the two countries.

The Omani minister was received upon arrival by Veniamin Korolev, Soviet deputy minister of petroleum [title as published]; a number of Soviet officials; Nasir al-'Abbudi, the UAE Ambassador in Moscow; and Hamdan al- Ghafiri, the Omani charge d'affaires in Moscow.

In a statement to AL-ITTIHAD upon arrival, al-Shanfari said that his visit to the Soviet Union came after relations between the two countries became close in 1986 and embassies were opened in both countries. He added that the purpose of his visit is to hold consultations and start cooperation with the Soviet Union in the area of petroleum. He also pointed out that he was carrying a message to Soviet leader Gorbachev from His Majesty Sultan Qabus. He also said that he was carrying no offers to the Soviet Union and that cooperation and consultations are in the interest of all the oil-producing countries. He voiced his conviction that a reasonable oil price and a stable oil market are in the Soviet interest. He affirmed that there are intensive contacts between the Sultanate and Moscow in trade, economic, and oil areas.

Al-Shanfari said his consultations with the Soviet side will center on stabilizing oil prices as well as bilateral relations, pointing out that Oman is expecting the arrival of a ranking Soviet delegation in Muscat to hold talks with Omani officials specialized in these areas.

In a statement to AL-ITTIHAD, Korolev, Soviet deputy minister of petroleum, said that al-Shanfari's visit to Moscow was a surprise, adding: We are very pleased to receive a ranking Omani official in Moscow, especially since it is the first visit to Moscow by an Omani official.

The Soviet official also said that a round of talks will be held with the Omani official today and that the Omani side will also hold talks with Konstantin Katushev, minister of foreign economic relations; and Komplektov, Soviet deputy foreign minister. Korolev did not specify a duration for the Omani delegation's visit but, he said, the visit will be successful and fruitful for both sides.

It had been decided that al-Shanfari would pay the visit on 1 January but was postponed due to his prior engagements. The current visit was arranged by the GCC as part of a dialogue among oil-producing countries. [passage omitted]

Discussions in Various Departments

LD1701074789 Moscow TASS in English 0740 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—Sa'id Ahmad al-Shanfari, Omani minister of petroleum and mineral resources, who is currently in the Soviet Union, has held talks in the USSR Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations, and in a number of other Soviet departments.

Sa'id al-Shanfari is the first Omani minister to visit the USSR.

During the talks in the Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations, the Omani minister discussed with the Soviet side matters concerning the situation on the world petroleum market.

He informed the Soviet side of the forthcoming meeting of Petroleum producing countries in London on January 25-26 to consider these matters. Taking part in the meeting will be both OPEC members and other countries—Egypt, Mexico, Angola, Malaysia, Colombia, the Yemen Arab Republic, Canada, as well as representatives of America's oil producing states.

The Soviet side said the USSR intended to send its representative to the London meeting as an observer.

Supreme Soviet Expresses Condolences to Bangladesh
LD1701153489 Moscow TASS in English 1159 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament) expressed deep condolences to Bangladeshi President Hussain Mohammad Ershad on the January 15 railway accident which caused loss of life.

The Presidium conveyed genuine sympathy to the victims, as well as the families and relatives of the dead.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Namibian Independence Process, Problems Viewed
MB1801175789 Moscow in Zulu to Southern Africa 1930 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Vladimir Valentinov commentary]

[Text] The UN Security Council has set 1 April 1989 as the first day of implementing Namibia's independence process. This follows an agreement signed at the end of negotiations between Angola, Cuba, and South Africa on the southwest Africa issue on 22 December 1988 in New York. The Security Council has resolved to speed up the process toward Namibia's independence by overseeing a general election in the territory.

The first steps towards Namibia's independence have already been taken by Cuba, Angola, and the African National Council [ANC] of South Africa, without waiting for 1 April. Cuba has been pulling its troops out of Angola, and 1,000 have already reached home. This indicates Havana and Luanda's sincerity in carrying out their pledge. The ANC has announced its readiness to remove its camps in southern Angola to avoid being a stumbling block and giving South Africa an excuse to thwart the peace process evolving in the southwest Africa region. However, no reciprocal action has taken place on Pretoria's side. It is hoped that this is not indicative of South Africa's hesitation over the independence process for Namibia agreed upon in New York.

In Luanda presently a UN delegation has started its work, monitoring the withdrawal of Cuban troops in southern and northern Angola. The delegation includes defense personnel of 10 nations, and 22 nondefense members.

The UN Security Council has asked its secretary general to work toward a cease-fire between SWAPO and the South African Government. All this indicates that desirable avenues have been opened toward ending strife in the southwest Africa region. Significant steps have been taken to facilitate the UN Security Council' desire to hasten the attainment of independence for Namibia through UN-monitored and democratic elections. It must be kept in mind, however, that the process, which is to take 27 months, is still in its first stages and will be completed on schedule only if no problems are encountered along the way.

RSA Communist Party Leader on National Trends
MB1901100489 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1900 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] A prominent figure of the national liberation and workers movement in South Africa, the national chairman of the Communist Party of South Africa and a member of the African National Congress, Dan Tlume, has visited Moscow. Our correspondent asked Mr Dan Tlume to give his assessment of the events underway in his country.

[Begin Tlume recording] Our people continue to display an ever growing will and capacity to sacrifice for the cause of freedom and peace. While committing violence and terror to perpetuate white domination, the racist rulers also try to camouflage the real contentions by playing around with such transparent actions like power sharing, group rights, minority rights, self-determination for the various groups, a nation of minority, the extension of democracy, etc. All these are mere deceptions intended to fool our people and divert them from the course of revolutionary struggle and change.

The political crisis facing the racist rulers is all around deeper than perhaps appears from a distance. Its credibility and legitimacy is challenged, not only by black sections of the population but by growing numbers of the democratically minded whites and compatriots, who are realizing the disastrous effects of the policies of apartheid. The regime can no longer impose its rule on the people while the people are no longer prepared to be ruled in the same old way.

As a direct consequence of this development, fewer and fewer people are volunteering to man the state organ of oppression and exploitation. Without the cooperation of the oppressed masses, the rulers find it increasingly difficult to impose their fascist dictatorship upon the masses. One of the major results of this crisis situation is the emergence of crescent divisions among the ruling sector. Apartheid is no longer a monolithic ideology binding all whites together in one laager, but there is the so-called black danger.

A number of white democrats and leaders are not only disenchanted with apartheid, but are actually deserting the apartheid laager in search of new political forms and existing solutions to the national disaster brought about by apartheid. We do not only welcome this trend, but we expectantly celebrate to actively participate in the general offensive for the demolition of the apartheid system and the creation of a new nonracial democratic and unitary society of all our citizens—black and white.

The ANC, therefore, has cut across the limits of black nationalism and fight for the liberation of all racial groups, including the whites who find themselves trapped in the ideology of apartheid. It is for this reason that the ANC has been meeting various political groups and individuals from inside the country, businessmen, university academics, trade unionists, the youth, students organizations, church people, and sport representatives. Our task is to mobilize all classes and social strata from all racial communities into active struggle for the common cause of all South Africans. [end recording]

Lukyanov Receives Cameroon Envoy's Credentials

LD1801224389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Hayatou Souaibou, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Cameroon, presented his credentials in the Kremlin today. Receiving them on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and its chairman, Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov drew the ambassador's attention to the implementation of the revolutionary renewal of all spheres of the life of Soviet society, on the basis of profound democratization. It was stressed that the policy of establishing new political thinking in the international arena, which is organically linked to restructuring, is having positive results.

East Europe

CSSR Bodies Denounce Prague Demonstrations

LD1901095589 Moscow TASS in English 0823 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Prague January 19 TASS—State and public organisations of Czechoslovakia have denounced anti-socialist demonstrations staged in Prague recently and support resolute actions of the security services.

The Presidium of the Prague Committee of the National Front supports all legal measures of state security services aimed at ensuring tranquility and order in the city and directed against those who violate laws and organise illegal actions, says a statement adopted on Wednesday.

The statement pointed out that the overhwelming majority of citizens, members of political parties and public organisations included in the National Front, as well as of labour collectives denounce these demonstrations staged by a group of people who act on the instruction of some Western mass media organisations.

The statement of the Prague National Committee emphasised that the so-called "Charter-77" and other banned anti-socialist organisations are fully responsible for the recent illegal actions in the capital.

The defence and security commissions of both chambers of the Federal Assembly adopted a statement at their joint sitting which expressed full support for actions of public security bodies and people's militia aimed at maintaining order and preventing chaos.

Deputies of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly—members of the cultural and educational commission demanded that actions that undermine the restructuring process in the country should be halted.

The Presidium of the Prague Trade Union Council agreed a similar statement.

Vorotnikov, Razumovskiy Meet CPCZ's Urbanek

PM1801151589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Friendly Conversation"]

[Text] V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received K. Urbanek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Committee for Party Work in the CSSR, on 17 January. A warm and friendly conversation took place, during which they thoroughly examined certain key questions of political and socioeconomic development in both countries.

V.I. Vorotnikov talked in detail about the progress of restructuring in the Soviet Union, the implementation of the radical economic reform, the transformations in state life, and the preparation for the elections of people's deputies. K. Urbanek shared the experience of CPCZ activity aimed at accelerating economic and social development, restructuring, and deepening socialist democracy. Both sides stressed the need to further broaden the diverse ties between the RSFSR and the CSSR within the framework of Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation.

On the same day G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with K. Urbanek. In the course of a conversation held in a friendly atmosphere, questions of the further development and deepening of CPSU-CPCZ cooperation were discussed.

J. Rehorek, CSSR ambassador to the USSR, took part in the meeting.

PZPR Plenum Discusses 'Radical' Changes

LD1801110289 Moscow TASS in English 1044 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw January 18 TASS—The tenth plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) came to a close last night. The participants in the plenum discussed theses of the Political Bureau of the PUWP Central Committee for a

plenum on the subject "reorganisation of the party is success of the strategy of renewal and reforms" as well as an item concerning radical transformations in the political, social and economic life.

At the concluding closed-door session of the second part of the plenum, the Polish news agency PAP reports, the Central Committee members (with four abstentions) expressed confidence in the party leadership headed by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PUWP Central Committee.

Then a resolution of the tenth plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee was adopted unanimously. The stand with regard to political and trade-union pluralism was endorsed by a majority of votes.

Hungarian Military Cutback, Conversions Noted

PM1701155389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent F. Lukyanov report: "Hungary Cuts Military Budget"]

[Text] Budapest—The recently completed winter session of the Hungarian National Assembly has approved among other important decisions the country's draft state budget for 1989. A considerable reduction—by 17 percent—in military spending is envisaged.

To be frank, a year ago it would have been difficult to imagine that National Assembly deputies would not just be discussing the size of the military budget but also trying to reduce it. After all, until 1988 the public had no idea how much the military department was spending on its needs. The scale of military spending first became known 1 year ago during parliamentary discussion of the 1988 state budget. Then it amounted to 33.2 billion forints, or 4.8 percent of the budget.

During the Hungarian parliament's summer (1988) session several deputies demanded that military spending be reduced. They also pointed out that, whereas state spending on health care and subsidies to support consumer prices are gradually being reduced, military spending had until recently remained unchanged. In view of the state's considerable financial difficulties (the 1989 state budget deficit will be 20 billion forints) and taking note of the considerable improvement of the international situation and the reduction in tension in East-West relations, the National Assembly deputies considered it unnecessary to keep military spending at the old level and voted for a reduction of almost 5 billion forints.

Commenting on parliament's decision, Colonel General F. Karpati, Hungarian defense minister, stated in an interview with the MTI agency that the reduction in the defense budget raises the question of the need for a new military concept and a reorganization of the Army. In the minister's words, a proposal for a substantial (25-percent) reduction in the size of the Hungarian Army is now being examined. The final decision will depend on the progress of the next round of talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, due to begin soon. Nevertheless, the minister believes, changes in the Ministry of Defense are needed now. For example, the ministry's apparatus has recently been cut by 240—more than 10 generals have retired.

The military service draft procedure will also be changed. For instance, the drafting of students is being reduced. As of August 1989 higher education graduates will be drafted for only 1 year instead of 18 months as is the current practice, and then only after they have completed their studies. Here is another innovation in the Hungarian Army: On the basis of amendments to the law on military service, young people of draft age who on religious or moral grounds have refused to perform military service involving the use of weapons, will now have the opportunity to do 3 years' alternative service, in a military or civilian hospital, for example, instead of 2 years' army service.

Nor will the military industry be unaffected by the reduction in the military budget. The problems of switching defense enterprises and shops to the production of consumer goods inevitably arise here. This is a complex and multifaceted problem. M.S. Gorbachev highlighted it in his recent speech in New York and with good reason. This problem is already being felt in Hungary. In the words of F. Horvath, secretary of state for the Hungarian Defense Ministry, in the first 1-2 years alone the reduction of military orders will affect 5,000-6,000 jobs. However, that still does not mean that all those jobs will be lost and the workers dismissed. A number of Hungarian enterprises have shown by their own example that mass redundancies can be avoided. One enterprise has acquired a Western license and is now going to produce precision castings for export, and a number of other plants have been quick to conclude agreements on the creation of joint enterprises with foreign firms....

Not everything is running smoothly yet in the process of beating swords into plowshares, but even now it may be said that this phenomenon, although not an easy one, is already quite real.

Hungarian Official Cited on Foreign Ties

PM1701131589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "New Approaches in Hungarian Foreign Policy"]

[Text] Budapest—G. Horn, secretary of state at the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, has described top-level Hungarian-Soviet meetings, which have proceeded in an atmosphere of creative exchange of opinions and new thinking and been distinguished by an open approach to

the discussion of bilateral problems, as most vital from the standpoint of Hungary's relations with other countries in 1988. Considerable progress has also been made in relations with another great power—the United States.

In an interview with the newspaper MAGYAR HIRLAP, the Hungarian diplomat noted that the Warsaw Pact is acquiring the nature of a creative workshop of member states, that the division of responsibilities has become more extensive, and that there is now a stronger collective spirit and democracy in the decisionmaking process. At the same time, unfortunately, there has been no constructive change in CEMA activity. Hungary's economic cooperation with socialist countries is still not effective enough.

G. Horn also pointed out that an agreement was signed last year between Hungary and the EEC and that Hungary established contacts with Israel and South Korea at the level of national representative bodies.

Commentator Views Hungarian Price Increases

LD1701224889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1930 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Viktor Levin commentary]

[Text] The MTI news agency has circulated the resolution adopted by the Hungarian Council of Ministers in connection with the fact that, following the price increase in Hungary as of 9 January, numerous appeals and statements expressing protest and indignation have been received by the Council of Ministers and its chairman. Having stressed that given the situation the government had no alternative, the Council of Ministers adopted a proposal to convene an extraordinary session of the National Coordination Council. Here is Viktor Levin with a Mayak commentary:

[Levin] The decision by the Hungarian Council of Ministers was preceded by a statement of the National Council of Trade Unions stressing that it regarded the working people's indignation and response to the considerable price increase as just. I will recall that as of 9 January the prices of many goods were increased by an average of 12 percent in Hungary. But if this average index, however unpleasant, does not look too terrible, the actual fact of price increases on certain food products plunged Hungarians into a state of shock, or very nearly. Suffice it to say that prices on meat and meat products, as well as milk, were increased by up to 40 percent.

Justifying its tough decision to increase prices, the government first cited the fact that, compared with international standards, Hungarian products have higher production costs and the economy is distinguished by low performance and a lack of flexibility in the production structure. The government emphasized that it was impossible to carry on with the economic policy which had been followed for decades and which had resulted in the current difficult social and economic problems in the country.

In principle, one can hardly argue with that. Indeed, Hungary has found itself in a difficult situation. But then a question emerges: Who should be held responsible for that, and who should shoulder the ensuing hardships? Of course, one could argue that the insufficient growth in productivity depends on the workers, too. Yet it depends, to a greater degree, on the organization of labor.

Speaking at a press conference Sandor Nagy, secretary general of the National Council of Trade Unions, said that in the current situation society should support the government with its trust because otherwise the existing problems cannot be solved. The trust of the working people, however, the leader of the Hungarian trade unions said, is not in evidence. I get the impression that the government has taken the position of Hungarian trade unions seriously. The Council of Ministers decided not to rely on former procedures and said that it was prepared for a serious discussion of the problems that have arisen. Frankly speaking, it is an extraordinary situation for a socialist country. Complex problems may be resolved only by taking into account the opinion of all the sides and all social strata of society. Both the Council of Ministers and the National Council of Trade Unions seem to be united in this approach.

Lizichev Receives GDR Political Officers

PM1701152189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jan 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "GDR National People's Army Political Workers' Visit"]

[Text] A delegation of National People's Army political workers headed by Lieutenant General M. Volland, deputy chief of the GDR National People's Army Main Political Administration, was in the Soviet Union 10-14 January at the invitation of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

At the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate and the Moscow Military District Political Directorate, the comrades from the GDR National People's Army were acquainted with the experience of party political work in the USSR Armed Forces and the political organs' activity in fulfilling the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The GDR National People's Army political workers provided information on progress in implementing the decisions of the 11th SED Congress in the National People's Army.

The delegation was received by Army General A.D. Lizichev, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political

Directorate. Colonel General V.S. Nechayev, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, and other responsible political workers took part in the talk, which passed in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

During their stay in the Moscow Military District, the guests from the GDR visited the Kantemir armored division, where they had talks with command and political cadres and familiarized themselves with the combat training, life, and daily routine of the division personnel.

The GDR National People's Army political workers visited memorable places of the Soviet people's revolutionary, combat, and labor glory and the memorial museum of the German antifascists in Krasnogorsk.

The delegation left for home.

BCP Secretary Khristov Stops Over in Moscow

PM1801151389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchange of Opinions"]

[Text] E. Khristov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, made a brief stopover in Moscow en route from Cambodia to Bulgaria and met the leadership of the CPSU Central Committee State and Law Department on 17 January. An exchange of opinions took place on the progress of the legal reform in the USSR and Bulgaria.

West Europe

Andreotti Announces November Gorbachev Visit

AU1901123189 Rome ANSA in English 1208 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] (ANSA) Vienna, January 19—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev will pay an official visit to Italy during the second half of November, Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti announced here after a meeting with his Soviet counterpart, Eduard Shevardnadze.

The two diplomatic chiefs are in the Australian capital for the closing today of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Supreme Soviet Official Receives Austria's Gratz

LD1101180089 Moscow TASS in English 1739 GMT 11 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 11 TASS—Yuriy Khristoradnov, chairman of the Council of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, met today with Leopold Gratz, first president of the Nationalalrat (parliament) who has made a stopover in Moscow.

The guest was informed about the reform of the political, electoral, judicial and legal systems in the Soviet Union, the broad participation of the working people in the processes of societal renovation. Both sides stressed their interest in a further development of the Soviet-Austrian political dialogue, a broader cooperation in different fields, including parliamentary contacts. The interlocutors were unanimous that the restructuring makes it possible to give a new dimension to the bilateral contacts.

Special attention was given to the subject area of the all-European process, to enhancing security and cooperation on the continent. It was pointed out that the position of the USSR and Austria on the questions discussed coincide or are close.

The Soviet side expressed its gratitude and appreciation to the government and the people of Austria for their assistance in undoing the consequences of the earthquake in Armenia.

Health Official on UK Eggs Shipped to Armenia

PM1301112089 [Editorial Report] Moscow TRUD in Russian on 13 January 1989 carries on page 3 under the rubric "From the Foreign Press" a feature headlined "Waste and Leftovers," comprising an "abbreviated reprint" of an article published in West Germany's DER SPIEGEL plus a commentary by A. Sklyarov, chief of the USSR Health Ministry Main Sanitary and Preventive Administration.

The reprinted DER SPIEGEL article reports on the recent UK controversy over the presence of salmonella in eggs, quoting statistics, expert opinions, and government recommendations on the risks of eating raw or partially cooked eggs, and noting in conclusion: "Meanwhile the egg producers refer proudly to the first consignment of 54,000 eggs dispatched to the victims of the earthquake in Armenia: 'The Russians are taking everything we can send them.'"

TRUD goes on:

"The TRUD editorial office asked A. Sklyarov, deputy chief of the USSR Health Ministry Main Sanitary and Preventive Administration, to comment on this article, and in particular its concluding lines.

[Sklyarov] "We were informed by Soviet organizations in London of the British producers' intention to send a consignment of their output to Armenia. We also knew about the situation taking shape in that country over the spread of salmonella.

"(For those who are not familiar with this term, let me say that salmonella is the name of a type of microorganism which is one of those present in all kinds of dirt and which, upon entering the human organism due to violations of the rules of hygiene, causes severe disorders in the gastrointestinal tract, ending in death in some cases. The microbe usually enters the organism in food

products that have not been subjected to the correct processing—meat that has not been fully heated, poultry that has not been cooked through, or raw eggs.)

"So in accordance with all the strict rules for monitoring food products, the relevant services in our country were instructed to pay particular attention to the cargo of eggs from London. Especially when the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade Export-Import Association reported by telex: A consignment of eggs is being prepared for dispatch from Heathrow Airport. On 16 December a further report arrived: The cargo will come by flight 8242 direct to Yerevan.

"The Gosagroprom veterinary service and representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Trade, the Health Ministry, and the Armenian sanitary service were warned about the consignment and went to Zvartnots Airport to meet it. The flight arrived. The hatches were opened. On the plane there were... no eggs. This was reported to us by A. Mayrapetyan, chief of the Armenian Health Ministry Main Sanitary and Epidemiological Administration. What is the mystery?

"I think the whole point is that the British mass media, by publicizing the poultry men's intention of 'vindicating themselves' by sending eggs to Armenia, thwarted it. The egg producers clearly did not have the nerve to take such a provocative step in conditions where a wave of sympathy for the Armenian people had swept through the world and a great many countries, Britain among them, had sent to Yerevan planes carrying medical supplies, equipment, and other kinds of aid.... That is all I can really say about the New Year's 'gift' from London that never arrived."

Peace Committee Representatives Meet With Pope
PM1801165388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 89 Morning Edition p4

[Own correspondent M. Ilinskiy dispatch under the rubric "Audience With the Pope of Rome": "Protect Our Planet, Conduct Dialogue"]

[Text] The Vatican—On 16 January, for the first time in the history of the Vatican, the head of the Roman Catholic Church, Pope John Paul II, gave an audience to representatives of a Soviet mass organization: an official delegation from the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace led by G.A. Borovik, chairman of the committee's presidium.

"The meeting, which proceeded in an atmosphere of amicability and sincerity, began at 1230 and continued for 45 minutes, instead of the 15 minutes set aside in line with protocol," delegation member G. Grechko, pilot-cosmonaut and twice hero of the Soviet Union, told your correspondent. "Despite the official nature of the meeting, the pope was attentive, affable, and, I would say, informal. The meeting took place in the pope's personal library. The head of the Roman Catholic Church was able to show us how deeply he feels and understands the situation in the world and how important it is at this moment to overcome the obstacles to uniting the people's efforts toward preserving peace on earth."

Pope John Paul II sent greetings to M.S. Gorbachev and highly appraised the Soviet leader's consistent, peace-loving measures.

"Our meeting can be seen as evidence of the Holy See's increased interest in the Soviet Union in the conditions of restructuring at the present stage. It is impossible not to see the real efforts made to unite the efforts of secular and religious forces in the struggle for peace. The head of the Vatican has a positive attitude toward peace movements, gave a positive assessment of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace' activities, expressed his understanding of the importance of 'people's diplomacy,' and noted that there is a need for all-around contacts capable of ensuring progress in all present-day problems."

Indeed, so much blood has been shed in our 20th century. In addition to the two world catastrophes and other conflicts, many wars have been of a religious nature. Representatives of various religions could come together to express their views and suggest their own ideas for preventing further bloodshed.

The pope worthily appraised the fact that the limited Soviet troop contingent is being withdrawn from Afghanistan and voiced the hope that possible further bloodshed will be prevented in this land.

John Paul II stressed that he is closely following the progress of restructuring in the Soviet Union, reads Russian every day, and shares many of the positions taken by the Soviet Union in the question of the struggle for peace.

"The delegation," G. Grechko continued, "gave the pope a fragment of a missile destroyed in the Soviet Union in the course of implementing the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The head of the Vatican accepted this fragment as an original symbol of the fulfillment of what until recently seemed a utopia.

"During my meeting with Pope John Paul II 2 years ago," G. Grechko recalled, "I presented the head of the Roman Catholic Church with a book from Soviet cosmonauts. On this occasion I was able to give Pope John Paul II a book entitled 'The Earth—Our Home in the Universe,' of which cosmonauts from many countries are the authors. This is also a positive symbol: The processes of drawing peoples closer together are under way on earth and in space.

"Man has the ability to appreciate others' grief as well as his own," the cosmonaut continued. "The Soviet Union is well aware of the sympathy with which the Apennines

greeted the tragic news of the devastating earthquake in Armenia. The head of the Vatican, Pope John Paul II, expressed his pain and deep sympathy for the Armenian people, who have been struck by this enormous tragedy. The pope expressed his gratitude to the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace for assisting Mother Theresa, head of the Order of Mercy, who opened centers of the order in Moscow and Armenia last year.

"During our meeting," G. Grechko noted, "we talked about personal contacts and impressions, and the pope kept the conversation going with ease and skill. One of the three members of our delegation—the well known journalist V. Gubarev—recalled a meeting in Poland in 1972 (when the pope was a cardinal)."

"Is it hard being the pope?" V. Gubarev asked.

"It is," John Paul II smiled. "But with God's help it is possible."

"The conversation then proceeded to art and literature. The pope himself wrote poetry and plays in the past and was also interested in mountain skiing. We also talked about this with John Paul II.

"So," G. Grechko said in conclusion, "our meeting was a friendly one and, as the head of the Holy See himself remarked, these contacts between the Vatican and Soviet mass organizations will continue. To live in peace, protect our planet, and conduct dialogue: These are the conclusions we can draw from our final meeting with the pope."

France's Marchais Supports Soviet Restructuring

PM1801113789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Unconditional Support"]

[Text] Paris, 17 Jan—French Communists support most resolutely and unconditionally the policy of restructuring in the Soviet Union, Georges Marchais, secretary general of the French Communist Party [PCF], said, speaking on Antenne-2's popular "Hour of Truth" program.

We wish restructuring success and deem it a most important event on a world scale, he stressed. Its experience must be studied attentively by everyone fighting for socialism. The PCF believes, the French Communist leader continued, that there is no need for the Communist Party to mechanically copy the experience of other countries: National characteristics must be taken into consideration in the struggle for socialism in France.

The PCF secretary general advocated a political settlement in Afghanistan and the elimination of all other conflicts in the world—in the Near East, Central America, and other regions.

During the program the situation in France and PCF policy were discussed in detail. Georges Marchais said that the situation in the country is marked by an increase in social injustice. He demanded a thorough investigation of the financial and political scandals that have recently blown up in the country.

Vorotnikov Receives Finnish Ambassador

LD1901004189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov today received Talvitie, Finnish ambassador to the USSR. A number of issues of Soviet-Finnish cooperation and prospects for further development of trade and economic and other ties between the RSFSR and Finland were discussed. The conversation took place in a friendly atmosphere.

CPSU Delegation Departs for Cyprus 17 Jan

PM1801140989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Departure From Moscow"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by V.S. Babichev, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Party Construction and Cadre Work Department, left Moscow on 17 January for Cyprus to familiarize itself with the activity of Cypriot Communists at the invitation of the leadership of the Restorative Party of the Working People of Cyprus.

CPSU Sends Greetings to Spanish Communists

PM1701111989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 89 Second Edition p 1

[Undated greetings message "To the Unification Congress of Spanish Communists" from the CPSU Central Committee]

[Text] Dear comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee cordially greets the Unification Congress delegates and all Spanish Communists.

You have gathered at a crucial time, when a new understanding of the character and substance of world progress and mankind's urgent tasks is taking shape. Political forces of all persuasions are determining their response to present-day realities.

The CPSU is vigorously interpreting the dialectics of processes which have gotten under way on our planet. It is obvious to us that the democratization of the world order and indispensable respect for the principle of freedom of choice have become genuine imperatives for modern development.

In implementing Soviet society's revolutionary, socialist renewal, our party intends to continue to act as the herald and champion of the new political thinking, and

to strengthen peace and cooperation in international life. Proceeding from the premise of common human interests, the USSR formulated in the United Nations its philosophy of new international relations and set out proposals and specific steps directed at its practical implementation.

Age-old ties of fraternity bind the Soviet and Spanish Communists. We highly value your support for the CPSU course within the country and in the foreign political arena.

We send you, comrades, sincere wishes for success on the path of unity. May there be a strengthening of friendship and solidarity between the CPSU and the PCE, and between the Soviet and Spanish peoples.

Long live peace, democracy, and socialism!

[Signed] The CPSU Central Committee

Political & Social

Further on 14 Jan Council of Ministers Debate

LD1801165089 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1850 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Excerpts] A USSR Council of Ministers meeting was held on 14 January. Two major questions were discussed. The first was the social and economic development of the country in 1988 and the 3 years of the 5-Year Plan; the second was measures to provide the population with fruit and vegetable produce.

In his introductory speech, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, said, in part:

"[Ryzhkov] Today we must carry out a very serious analysis of the situation that has arisen in the national economy. We can see that over these years there have been positive changes; there have been positive results. They give us a certain degree of satisfaction. At the same time one cannot but see the negative tendencies developing in the economy. It seems that we should very seriously exchange opinions on these questions. [passage omitted]"

A report was delivered on the first item by Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Gosplan.

"[Maslyukov] Comrades, we are reviewing the results of the country's economic and social development over the past year and the first 3 years of the 5-year period during an exceptionally intensive time in domestic political and economic affairs. Grandiose restructuring is under way in all spheres of socialist society, while in the national economy the comprehensive formation of a new system of production relations and of a new type of economy has begun. Last year's results indicate that the national economy has taken another step forward in its socioeconomic development, a step on a healthy basis, on the principles of the new economic mechanism. [passage omitted]"

Maslyukov went on to give a sharply critical analysis of the state of affairs in the construction sector. Problems in that sphere are intensifying the disproportions in the economy and holding up implementation of the plans for the technical re-equipping of production and the development of the social and cultural sphere.

"[Maslyukov] We have to look very closely at the role and place of profit in the financial systems of the country and the enterprise. The massive profit building up seems at first glance to be a good thing, but it entails numerous negative factors. Although the profit targets are being achieved across the national economy as a whole and in the majority of national economic complexes, there remains a considerable number of enterprises that are failing to meet them. In 1988 more than 20 percent of industrial enterprises and construction organizations failed to meet their accumulation targets. There remains a large number of loss-making enterprises, constituting approximately 15 percent of the total number of enterprises in the main branches of the national economy. Over the past 3 years of the 5-year plan these enterprises have registered losses of around R11 billion every year. The old system of distributing profits obtained in excess of the 5-year plan targets remain in force, with 70 percent going to the enterprise. Under these conditions the lower the plan, the more advantageous things are for the enterprise." [passage omitted]

The report went on to note that the disequilibrium between effective demand and the supply of goods and services is causing major economic and social side effects.

"[Maslyukov] We have to take the most resolute action to reduce state expenditure and increase state revenue. This will require a reduction in the volume of capital investment, a cut in defense expenditure, and a cut in state subsidies, subsidies paid to loss-making enterprises—and here we have to set a target of cutting this expenditure by 30 percent in 1989 and of virtually ceasing payment of the remaining subsidies in 1990. Next, we have to tackle the question of reducing purchases of imports and use the money saved to buy consumer goods. The following proposal is also being put forward: Nikolay Ivanovich, I think we ought to finally make a decision which would provide us with a guaranatee against unforeseen emergency situations such as those in Armenia and Chernobyl, the explosion in Sverdlovsk, and so on. So it is clearly essential to start thinking about introducing obligatory insurance of the property of state enterprises. We must always have a reserve fund to help us cope with these emergency and unforeseen situations.

"[Ryzhkov] I think this is a correct proposal. Following Armenia and Chernobyl we have to do some serious work on this issue. These problems are currently being studied, and we need to have very solid insurance reserves, along with material, financial, medical, and every other kind of reserves. We must not do as we did during those two accidents. You know, you have seen how everything is being done, and great gratitude is due to all those present, to the Soviet people as a whole, and to all the republics, ministries, and citizens. However, comrades, this is nevertheless not a proper system, not a proper system when we are obliged to mobilize the entire country to tackle individual problems. For that reason I think the proposal is correct. It should be studied, and such a decision should be made."

The floor was given to Soviet Finance Minister Boris Ivanovich Gostev.

"[Gostev] Comrades, the Council of Ministers is today discussing the results since the start of the 5-year plan and a wide range of economic and social problems closely interlinked by one common goal: the elaboration of measures to achieve the best practical results in implementing the instructions of the 19th all-union party conference and the restructuring program. The restructuring process has gripped all aspects of the life of Soviet society. The economy is of decisive significance; it is the foundation of restructuring. The main conclusion is that in freeing itself from the shackles of the past, the economy is moving forward, although with quite a few difficulties. The role of finance is growing immeasurably in the solution of the tasks ahead, because without bringing order into this area it is impossible to achieve general success."

Having noted that in the 3 years of the 5-year plan there was a strengthening of the financial situation in the basic link of public production—industrial enterprises, construction projects, kovkhozes, and sovkhozes—the speaker at the same time pointed out the shortcomings in their work, including in the output of consumer goods.

"[Gostev] It be must be said straight out that at present there is an extremely difficult financial situation in the country. The basic reason is that state spending is increasing considerably faster than revenues. In 1988 budget revenues increased over 1985 figures by R1 billion, while spending increased by R74 billion. In 3 years of the 5-year plan, budget spending exceeded revenues by R184 billion. The increase in the domestic state debt already exceeded half the produced national income. The state budget for 1988 was fulfilled for revenues by 97 percent and for spending by 101.4 percent. The problem of monetary circulation has worsened considerably. In 1988 the population's monetary income increased by R40 billion, while the national income increased by only R25 billion. The issuance of money has reached critical dimensions; its volume doubled over the previous year and exceeded the average annual dimension in the 11th 5-Year Plan by 4 times. Stocks of goods in commerce and industry fell to an extremely low level, which led to a tense situation on the consumer market: lines, empty shelves in the shops, and an intensification of inflationary processes. The deficit in balance of payments has grown. In the past years of the 5-year plan over R50 billion of national income was under-received against the plan in effective prices; the structure of it worsened. Two thirds of the increment in national incomes goes on wages. Thus, there has been a drop in the norm of surplus products and state income. And the first thing that must be done is to normalize monetary circulation. The situation here, especially in 1988, has become acutely more complicated."

The speaker went on to disclose the basic directions of the financial improvement in our national economy and submitted practical proposals in connection with this.

"[Gostev] The main thing which must be done now to improve the financial situation is to bring internal economic reserves into play, to improve accumulation of payments to the budget. First, we must ensure a precise and complete fulfillment of plan tasks. Many enterprises and economic organizations are not managing to fulfill their plan tasks in financial indicators. Second, we must practically tackle the problem of eliminating losses. Third, we must accelerate the turnover of circulating money and reduce the stocks of product and material valuables. Fourth, we must sharply cut nonproductive spending and losses and raise the responsibility of the enterprise for economic management results. Nonproductive spending and losses in the current 5-year plan are, unfortunately, rising every year and now exceed R24 billion."

The chairman of the board of USSR Promstroybank, Mikhail Semenovich Zotov, dealt with questions of capital construction, its financing, and economic performance. He pointed out that unfinished construction is still on the increase. Issues concerning the reform of the banking system were also touched on.

The floor was then taken by Nikolay Aleksandrovich Panichev, USSR minister of machine-building and tool industry.

"[Panichev] In analyzing the machine-building and tool industry work in the last 3 years of the 12th 5-Year Plan, one should note certain positive changes that have taken place above all—I should say—thanks to the demands, the new demands, of radical economic reform and to the measures to raise the technical level and quality of the goods produced.

"We have built our plans for this 5-year plan on the renewal of the output structure. I have to report that the proportion of progressive types in the output of equipment has increased from 60 percent in 1985...

"[Ryzhkov, interrupting] But Mikhail Semenovich, we agreed not to make these self-laudatory reports. That is all there is in the documents. So why are you again wasting time on it? Talk about the existing problems. If you find that everything is fine in your industry, then there is no need for us to listen. We will ask you questions now.

"[Zotov] Two days ago, we held a collegium which summarizes our work in the 3 years and in 1988; we reviewed, assessed the work of the whole industry as unsatisfactory. And we mapped out measures to remedy the situation.

"[Ryzhkov] Listen, you have been taking those measures for 3 years. Three years. And look, you have failed to supply to the national economy just over 12,000 machine tools, including—and it's not just a few grindstones you have failed to deliver—you have failed to supply special, specialized achine tools built out of

standard units: 7,000 machine tools. Behind each machine tool is labor productivity; behind each machine tool there are ultimately people. Metal-cutting macine tools with programmed control: 3,000, including a thousand machine centers—that is what we are talking about. How is the life of the national economy to continue? You at one time raised the issue that we do not need 200,000 or 200 and—how many? —214,000 machine tools we were making in the country as a whole, that that was unnecessary, that that was the extensive method—what do we want with simple machine tools; we do not have the manpower, and so on. Good. Annually we have been reducing the number of machine tools. How many machine tools are we planning now?

"[Unidentified speaker] One hundred and seventeen thousand now.

"[Unidentified speaker] One hundred and seventeen thousand.

"[Ryzhkov] Last year, 116,000; and we made 215,000. We reduced the number of machine tools by 100,000 in 5 years. We thought you would give us real machine tools, so that we would have a smaller number of machine-tool operators but greater productivity. But you are under-producing by 12,000 each time; and you talk about all the difficulties. It is you who have created the difficulties in the national economy. How is the national economy to survive?

"[Zotov] We have taken on ourselves, Nikolay Ivanovich, the task of increasing the output of machine tools with numerical program control by 250 percent in the 5-year plan and of machining centers by 600 percent. We submitted a proposal today to the Council of Ministers Bureau for a reorganization of this whole area of production and for concentrating the development of electronic technology for metal-working equipment in our ministry. We consider this the right thing to do, and we will be working on this line of development. We need a technology that will provide precision down to a micron and a fraction of a micron, but we have received nothing from anywhere; we have done it all ourselves."

On the platform is Lev Alekseyevich Voronin, a deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gossnab.

"[Voronin] I would like in my speech to deal with two issues that we discussed in one form or another today and on which one would like to make some kind of decision. First of all, we all talk a lot—and rightly—about the fact that material and technical imbalance is often making our work very difficult. I shall, therefore, say something today about one question, namely the question of concluding contracts for the 1989 program. You know that on 9 January the Goskomstat gave the final results. So let us try to look at our work and assess it, from that point of view.

"But first of all, according to the Goskomstat figures for 9 January, despite all the measures—so to speak—that are being taken, today more than R.8 billion worth of contracts for goods intended for industrial and technical use have yet to be concluded. You can imagine what that means. That is what is creating problems today, and many people are saying that we are forced at times to alter the limits to avoid stopping certain factories right from the first days of January. It is going to cause us difficulties in our work of 1 January, of the first quarter, and of the whole year.

"With the exception of two republics—the Ukraine, and Comrade Masol personally, and Belorussia, Comrade Kovalev, and the chairmen of the gossnabs of those republics—I have to say, esteemed comrades, Councils of Ministers chairmen, that you are virtually doing nothing about these matters, or you are dealing with them ad hoc, superficially. And we are having a great deal of trouble today with the supply of goods by the republican ministries. I can quote one or two examples, so that I am not just making unsupported assertions, as it were. The Latvian Council of Ministers recently passed a decision that as of 1 January the paper production capacities at Sloka paper combine were simply to be closed down, just like that. It made the decision, just like that. The 24,000 tonnes of paper that are hovering at the limit, you might say, for 1989, well that's a problem someone's got to solve. We will be putting a number of consumers, both in our own republic and a number of consumers in the national economy as a whole, in a terribly difficult position today.

"[Rhzykov] Yuriy Alekseyevich, then why did you do away with that paper? You are not providing any paper, and that is all there is to it?

"[Zotov] I will tell you the whole story. What, then, is the situation? Well, I understand there may be ecological questions; no doubt they have to be looked at. But you can't—just like that without taking any account at all of the balance of the national economy, by virtue of group interests of some kind, or the interests of the republic alone—go ahead and make decisions like this. If we do, then we will always find ourselves in a very difficult position. But one can cite many examples here today, comrades, of how we approach things not from the interests of the national economy, not from the point of view of the state as a whole, but strictly from local group interests: We have made our decision, and let someone else sort out what happens next.

"[Ryzhkov] I implore you, Council of Ministers chairmen, I implore the minister once again to take the most effective measures before the end of January, because the stability and confidence of the operation of the entire national economy in 1989 depends on this. If we do not complete that work and find ourselves with 8 billion of production held up...

"[Zotov, interrupting] Nikolay Ivanovich, I can take off [snyat] the resources today. That is not difficult. But having taken off the resources, do you know what production we won't receive today? It's the balance again. And I would...[changes thought In a great many spheres and branches of industry. Therefore, I would very much...

"[Ryzhkov, interrupting] It's a chain reaction. It will be a chain reaction in the entire national economy. How can we allow such a situation?

"[Zotov] Nikolay Ivanovich, I would very much like to ask for a decision today by our Council of Ministers, and I'm simply asking the ministers and chairman of the councils. After all, we haven't much further to go at all. What is 8 billion considering the volumes we deal with? It can be sorted out concretely from each position, with each collective. Approaches can be found. There are ways of solving these questions. I very much request that this be put at the top of our list today.

"I would just like to say a very little, comrades, about saving resources. It should be said that, by and large, the national economy in 1989 has positive results for the first time in the 3 years of the 5-year plan. We will have a lower consumption of material; we aimed at 0.8 for the year, and it looks as if we will have 0.9. We will also carry out the reduction; we have planned a reduction of the national energy consumption, in relation to the national income, and of metal consumption. But in general, of course, we certainly cannot be satisified with these results, because for the 3 years of the 5-year plan our figures are negative, both for materials and metal consumption. Above all, in this respect we have enormous reserves. So what I ask, above all, is that the Council of Ministers chairmen personally look into the work of the republican commissions on economizing material resources, and look in the Presidium at the reports for last year, look at the work plans for this year, analyze why the questions of economizing and lowering metal consumption in relation to the national income have not been fulfilled for certain indices. We will be glad to help with advice and action, and evidently we will begin to listen."

Gayrat Khamidullayevich Kadyrov, the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers chairman, recounted in his speech what his republic has been able to do toward solving the food problem and described the difficulties being encountered in this respect.

"[Kadyrov] In our republic we have nowhere to put onions. Everywhere, everything is full. Yes, that is a fact. And they are good onions—above all—they are firm, you understand, grown without rain, on irrigated land. [Sentence indistinct]

"[Ryzhkov] Doesn't anyone in the union republics need onions?

"[Kadyrov] If we had the facilities for drying onions, we could produce more dried onions, some of them for export—for export. We would like, Nikolay Ivanovich, in this matter of fruit and vegetables, and vegetables generally, somehow to satisfy more quickly the demand of the European countries approaching us. So far we're just beginning to get things organized. Time passes and the onions will go bad and...

"[Ryzhkov, interrupting] First we have to feed our own country. And now we've jumped—jumped over to Europe with our vegetables. When we examine the second question you'll see what's being done about vegetables."

The speech by Yuriy Aleksandrovich Bespalov, USSR minister of the chemical industry, started off somewhat unexpectedly.

"[Bespalov] Comrades, we...

"[Ryzhkov, interrupting] Immediately, so that you do not have to be asked the question, tell us what we are to do about the various washing detergents. Whole sacks of letters are already lying about at the Council of Ministers. And television is bursting with reports of criticism.

"[Bespalov] Well, from this...

"[Ryzhkov, interrupting] Yes, from this, please.

"[Bespalov] Well, this year, 1988, the plan for powder was, as is well known, 1.29 million tonnes. In fact, the fulfillment came to 1.3 million. The plan for 1989 was for 1.4 million tonnes according to the 5-year plan, and we accepted this plan. The trade network reported to me a need for 1.5 million tonnes; we are ready to take 1.5 million tonnes. But I must say, Nikolay Ivanovich, 400,000 out of 1.4 million are not covered by raw materials. This is why this is not the stance of the Ministry of the Chemical Industry on powder. About six ministries manufacture powder, and they all have the same problem: The capacities are there, but they just have to be supplied with the raw materials and the plan for powder will be fulfilled. How did we start in January?

"[Ryzhkov, interrupting] And what is taking place in the market? Explain.

"[Bespalov] Nikolay Ivanovich, this is how we started in January 1989. At present all the factories are reporting that people are not accepting powders. I cannot give the powder away. The trade network is not taking powder, the warehouses are full to the brim with powder...

"[Ryzhkov, interrupting] You must take it up with [USSR Trade Minister] Comrade Terekh.

"[Bespalov] Well, the position is often created artificially. When they were stocking up, there were mass purchases. In other words they stocked up and now they

don't want powder. Our Perm works are disrupted because depots are not taking powder. Our works in Siberia are being disrupted because they are not taking any. Moscow is a single spot, and we shall improve things in Moscow.

"But I said that the trade network announced 1.5 million. We are in a position to ensure this figure. If we look at raw materials in 1989, we can adopt this figure to 100 percent satisfaction. Let us adopt this figure, Lev Alekseyevich.

"[Unidentified speaker] This raw material is part of the same (?chemical) complex.

"[Ryzhkov] Let us resolve this.

"[Gusev] Sulph-, this is alkyl benzene—this is how we are solving things, Nikolay Ivanovich...

"[Unidentified speaker] Yes, we are solving things

"[Gusev] What is needed here is that the chairmen of the councils of ministers of the republics should not act in this way. Alkyl benzene has to be introduced; chemical capacities have to be introduced and then there will be enough powder to cover all of us here. One must not act in such a way that only the center, only the USSR Council of Ministers and ministries put themselves out.

"[Ryzhkov] And who is not introducing these capacities?

"[Gusev] Azerbaijan and Armenia are reducing capacities. This must not be done. And we cannot arrange and secure capacities in the Russian Federation.

"[Ryzhkov] So say it on television and radio and write to the papers so that the people will know why there is no powder and who is to blame.

"[Unidentified speaker] Nikolay Ivanovich, this problem can be solved, but it has to be tackled together. This problem is in our hands; this is an artificially created problem.

"[Unidentified speaker] This is an artificially created problem.

"[Bespalov] Now I would like to say, in connection with the publication of the law on enterprise, what processes are taking place in the national economy. Unfortunately, they have taken that part of the law on enterprise where the rights of the enterprise are given. And where there was the first point which said that the enterprise bears responsibility for state interests, for providing the national economy, for increasing output, and so on, no one looks at this point, Nikolay Ivanovich. I think it has to be raised somehow. Rights are rights, but after all there are no rights without duties. This part of the law is not working. Whether we want it or not, some managers are not ready to work—in terms of standard and qualification—in conditions of the law. These group and sometimes mercenary interests want an easy life. This does happen. Yesterday, the authorities from Perm came to me, both the party and soviet authorities. They came and told me directly: Why did we come? To notify you that 1,000 people have gone out into the streets and have closed your dyestuff enterprise.

"[Unidentified speaker] Dyestuff works.

"[Bespalov] And what role do you give to yourself? We have come to inform you. And what are you, postmen or what? This isn't how things should be done. Is this our enterprise or is it mine? I mean does it belong to the Ministry of the Chemical Industry? It is yours, they said. We have notified you, and now you take the measures. Let us take measures together. How can one split this up into yours and ours? After all, this isn't how it should be."

Aleksandra Pavlovna Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development, spoke.

"[Biryukova] Behind the figures heard in the reports and speeches, there are not simply abstract proportions, but an expanding deficit, waiting lines, speculation, and—as a result of all that—the real danger of a growth in social tension and a weakening of support restructuring. And this is what is puzzling: On the one hand in these reports there are many words about the achieved increase in output rates of goods and services, as well as complaints and lamentations about shortcomings in supply, shortages of goods and, literally to a man—apart from Belorussia and Lithuania—requests for allocations of additional stocks of commodity resources to ensure the plan for trade turnover of 1989. And at the same time, it is clear how the comrades intend to correct the gravest situation on the consumer market. Only the Russian Federation, Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia have presented proposals to the Bureau for Social Development envisaging a tangible increase in commodity production in 1989; moreover, Russia intends the biggest increase, almost of 6.5 percent. A number of republics have not yet presented proposals, while some of them, for example the Ukraine, Georgia, and Azerbaijan, in their replies informed us that they do not think it possible to increase their output of goods in 1989.

"In a word, one does not feel, dear comrades, that the republics are actively working toward solving the problem of goods and services. In this I, for example, see one of the factors in the situation that we have still not stabilized the position on the consumer market. In this connection, I would like to draw the attention of the councils of ministers chairmen and the USSR Ministry of Light Industry to the serious failure by enterprises of the light industry in the production of footwear. The

reality of the past few years is such that there is virtually no footwear in the shops. The shelves are empty, and in these conditions in 1988 alone the Russian Federation undersupplied 12.6 million pairs of shoes, Azerbaijan 3.6 million, Georgia 400,000, Latvia 560,000, and Estonia 616,000. An unsatisfactory situation is also coming about in 1989. To date in the RSFSR, the plan for production has not been lodged and contracts have failed to be concluded for the delivery of 9 million pairs of shoes; in the Ukraine 3.6 million pairs.

"This is nothing other than the most total irresponsibility. It cannot be explained that of the 34 footwear factories under construction, capital construction plans have not been fulfilled in 30. The councils of ministers of union republics and the construction ministries must take the most urgent measures to correct the position. The Politburo and USSR Government have made the decision to increase the sales to the population of timber and construction materials. We all remember how acutely this question was discussed in the Politburo. However, as a result of a lack of monitoring by the councils of ministers of union republics, krayispolkoms and oblispolkoms, the USSR Ministry of Trade, they are being sold in considerable volumes by written order to enterprises, organizations, and institutions. Thus according to figures from the USSR People's Control Committee, in the nine checked oblasts of the Russian Federation alone, short supply timber and construction materials were being sold on the side to the value of over R8 million. Similar instances were exposed in Belorussia, Kazakhstan, and other areas.

"[Ryzhkov] What percentage is that of the sales, say of cement, not going to people, but once again to some organizations?

"[Biryukova] Nikolay Ivanovich, I do not have those figures.

"[Unidentified speaker] Up to 30 percent.

"[Biryukova] But we estimate 25-30 percent.

"[Ryzhkov] Okay, how much can we say about this? How many decisions do we make about giving as much construction materials as possible to the population, for home repairs, to build new houses? And we are still making decisions, but locally—again this cement and timber is sent to any organization but not to the people. We warned Comrade (?Fedirko): Stop doing this. We warned Comrade Terekh. The chairman of the Council of Ministers has heard about it more than once. Nevertheless we all vote for giving as much construction materials as possible to the population, and we then sell it to anyone we please, apart from the people.

"[Biryukova] In conclusion, comrades, I should like to appeal to you to remember always that it is first and foremost on the state of affairs in the social sphere that people judge your work and mine, the effectiveness of restructuring, of how capable the government is of solving people's needs."

Minister of Construction Arkadiy Nikolayevich Shepetilnikov spoke about the work being done by his ministry in the southern parts of the country. Fedor Trofimovich Morgun, chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Protection of Nature, announced that there was no improvement in the country's ecological situation over the 3 years and that in some areas it deteriorated—in certain industrial centers to a considerable extent. This is a subject of concern to everyone. Since this report cannot devote much space to it, we shall try to have a live broadcast on the subject soon, in which Fedor Trofimovich and other participants can answer viewers' questions. The next to speak was USSR Minister of Railways Nikolay Semenovich Konarev.

After that, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov summarized the debate results on the first item on the agenda:

"[Ryzhkov] [Passage omitted] Aleksandra Pavlovna has spoken here in detail about consumer goods production, but I would just like to mention two figures. We had a shortfall of R1.9 billion worth of nonfood products, and of R8 billion worth of food products. If we had been supplied with those R10 billion worth of goods, our domestic market would, of course, be in far better shape, far better than it is today. For this reason we have now drawn up specific programs for the development of these goods, and I would like to appeal to you, once again, comrades. This year, at least, we are not going to change anything; the targets we have noted must be met. You know that we are now working out an emergency program of economic recovery, of financial recovery in the economy; there will be a further partial addition of consumer goods production to it. I ask the council of ministers chairmen, dear comrades, analyze every one of your factories, irrespective of whether they are subordinate to republican or union bodies; see what can be done, how much floor space needs to be freed, and what products can be made there. This 1-2 percent increase in complex domestic appliances is just not good enough; it is impermissible. The second acute problem concerns foods, of course, and this is something I have already mentioned. Of course, there have been changes for the better, some changes for the better. But if we are to be serious, then of course there have not been any tangible overall changes for the better—and I stress the word overall, that is finally bringing about a reasonable food situation in all areas. For your information and to give you an idea, we purchased R31 billion worth of food abroad over the 3-year period, R31 billion. If we take the average over the 3 years, we get an increase in gross agricultural output of 5.4 percent, or 1.8 percent a year. Given that the population growth rate is approximately 1 percent annually, we can work out that we have an

average growth in food production of 0.8 percent. These figures are, of course, totally insufficient, and as long as we continue producing food at this rate we will not, of course, satisfy our market, and the shortages will remain.

"Today we devoted much attention to finances and rightly so, I think, because this is the most important issue, one which is a practical indicator of our economy's health. You know that this year, for the first time in our state's experience—and it was stated both in the report by Comrade Gostev and Comrade Maslyukov—the budget has a deficit amounting to R35 billion. Well, I can express my view, and it is not just my view alone, because we have consulted Presidium members and other comrades more than once; we reckoned that the session would, on the whole, witness an outburst when the national economy's imbalance—to the tune of R35 billion—was revealed for the first time. In the space of 3 days we did not hear a single speech on this issue, not a single one, as though this problem did not exist. And, you know, to some extent we all were simply at a loss here: What happened? Why is it that there is no interest in this? Evidently this attitude of ours is simply, well, a lack of economic culture. This is how I would put it; perhaps it is a bit blunt, but it is a lack of economic culture, and absolutely no one has been troubled by it. But in actuality, this is our life.

"As for money in circulation, we sense it from the consumer goods market, shops, the half-empty shelves, the lines; we see it; the people see it; they are dissatisfied and so forth, and it is legitimate that they are dissatisfied. There is, however, a second part of this iceberg, an unseen part which, nevertheless, does exist: it is the balance of the national economy. Well, we now say that we are short of materials, we are short of something else, but, where are we to get sufficient quantities from, when there is more money than materials?

"That is all. After all, the explanation is quite simple. Surplus money is in the production sphere, and it is precisely this money that makes it impossible for us to balance the national economy fully. It is necessary that there be less money and more materials. Then these shortages will not be there; then it will be possible to think seriously of wholesale trade. There can be altogether no question of any kind of wholesale trade as long as there is more money and fewer materials. But we cannot live without wholesale trade because otherwise our reform will fail to get off the ground for real. That is why this is a very serious issue. You know, everything in our national economy is in short supply, apart from money. It is paradoxical but it is, nevertheless, the case.

"Comrades, we are living beyond our means. I can tell you openly that we must approach this question very seriously. We have now adopted a decision you are familiar with, one which makes trading possible for everyone, for all enterprises without exception, for all cooperatives, although we are introducing some licensing. This is the proposal we are submitting. You know that on 2 December a decision was adopted that permits all enterprises that have appropriate hard currency to spend up to 10 percent on purchases of consumer goods, this figure being, in my view, 15 percent in the Far East. [voices from audience confirming this] Fifteen, yes. Well, we are now submitting a proposal to the effect that absolutely everyone should be permitted for 2 years to spend up to 30 percent of hard currency on purchases of consumer goods, up to 30 percent. That is why you should carry out appropriate work with your enterprises, because before the decision is out a month will elapse, you understand? Do carry it out; it is a voluntary matter, no one has a right to coerce an enterprise and tell it where it is to spend the money.

"Taking into account this situation on the consumer goods market, however, one can have a conversation and, if they wish, let them purchase consumer goods for their own labor collectives, up to 30 percent.

"Comrades, I will no longer dwell on the other issues. We have had a sufficiently serious and thorough conversation about them today. I think that, taking account of today's exchange of opinions, let us prepare a draft decision, and if the Council of Ministers doesn't object, we will entrust this to the Council of Ministers Presidium and adopt the decision which will become the basis of our work in 1989."

Before the start of the session, its participants acquainted themselves with a TASS photographic exhibition devoted to the second point on the agenda, the supply of fruit and vegetables to the population. Photographs were displayed at the exhibition. There was good Soviet and foreign experience next to the photographs which you couldn't pass without feeling distress or even indignation.

In an introductory speech to the second part of the session Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov expressed his appreciation to the mass media, which devoted great attention to this problem while it was being prepared for consideration at the Council of Ministers. He stressed its importance for the population and acquainted those who had gathered with alarming telegrams on this issue. They had been sent directly to the session of the Council of Ministers from Volgograd, Perm, and Kherson Oblasts.

Then Vsevolod Serafimovich Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, presented a report. He noted:

"[Murakhovskiy] In our country we have all the conditions to ensure the production of potatoes, vegetables, fruits, and berries in amounts which would fully provide our population with these products, which are important for nourishment."

Analyzing data on the production and consumption of fruit and vegetables in the country, he said:

"[Murakhovskiy] In my view there are three issues in this problem. The first is production; the second is the problem of procurement, processing, and storage; and the third is the marketing of potatoes, fruit, and vegetables—that is, bringing it to the consumers. Meeting the population's demands depends on how all this is coordinated in the localities, how the interests are combined of everyone participating in the process of producing, procuring, storing, and marketing this produce. It's obvious that we haven't finished our serious work from the viewpoint of organizing an economic machinery.

"There is a procedure today by which any farm producing potatoes or vegetables is interested in marketing this produce more quickly in September, harvesting it and sending in trucks to an allied consumer or to the city, and taking no responsibility at all for its storage or delivery to the consumer himself. I believe this system is defective. Why has it taken root in our country? It probably originates from the fact that previously the kolkhoz or sovkhoz wasn't trusted. They tried to collect this produce immediately and take it away to the city. Today the whole consideration is for fulfillment of the plan, over the half-year, that is—how much it has produced, how the plan has been fulfilled—and then it is recovered.

"We believe that we must now change this system; we must build storage bases on the farms producing potatoes and vegetables, and they must gradually, according to need, build up their stocks of potatoes and vegetables and supply them to the cities and town-type settlements, directly to the consumers. A definite system must come about for this and, in our view, this system could come about in the form of agrocombines and agrocommercial enterprises. They have already been engendered in our country by life itself."

Valeriy Timofeyevich Saykin, chairman of Moscow gorispolkom, opened the discussion on the report. The floor was then given to Yevgeniy Sergeyevich Rychin, general director of the Moskva agrocombine in Moscow Oblast. In particular, he shared his work experience on supplying vegetables to the capital. [passage omitted]

The concluding address was given by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov.

"[Ryzhkov] You, comrades, were all present for the first item, and you saw how acute the problem is of supplying the population with both nonfood goods and, of course, primarily with food products.

"We are not satisfied. On the whole, no one is satisfied with this situation, the speed is not very great, and at present everything possible is being done in the country to provide a certain momentum in this area. You know that there will be a CPSU Central Committee plenum that will thoroughly examine all matters of the agro-industrial complex; and, of course, corresponding conclusions will be drawn and decisions made which will enable us to improve the situation with the country's food supply.

"We understand that in this there are problems of a long-term nature which cannot be solved quickly. And there are, of course, problems which can be solved in just a few years. Of course, in order to raise grain production to the required level more than 1 year is needed. Meat production is also growing quite slowly, as well as milk. This is such a sluggish area of agriculture that it needs great capital investments and it needs time, a lot of time. We believe the issue of supplying fruit and vegetables to the population which is being examined can be solved much more quickly than those problems.

"Why do we draw such a conclusion? Not because there are no problems. On the contrary, we have seen today that there are very many problems, both from the viewpoint of production organization and of technical equipment and scientific provisions. There are very many problems, and obviously no fewer problems than in other spheres of the agro-industrial complex. The fact is that we know how much produce gets spoiled in the country: on average 30 percent. If we even conserved what we grow we could today solve the problems of fruit and vegetable supplies to the population. Figures are cited here: I think we get 110 kg—108 or 110—but we actually produce 175 kg, according to the calculations of the State Agro-Industrial Committee. So count it up, how much we're losing in waste.

"We have set the task of achieving in the near future—I do not know whether it will take 2 or 3 years—a substantial change in the situation regarding vegetable and fruit consumption. If we managed to solve this problem, first of all we would, so to speak, give the population a chance to improve its nutritional ration.

"Indeed, we would be changing the structure of feeding our population at once. These issues need to be resolved; they must be resolved. However, it seems to me that one shortcoming in the draft which was presented, which we have been discussing for a fairly long time, is that we have really somehow produced it according to old traditions: This is how many potatoes we have to grow, this is how many we have to supply, and so on. I think that if we are going to emphasize precisely this—although it is, evidently, also necessary as a guideline—but do not expose all the deep-lying causes of why such a situation, which suits none of us—not the producers, not the consumers, and so on—is happening in the country, we will not, of course, achieve the results we are counting on.

"Nevertheless, I think that the issue lies first and foremost in economic relations. If we find a normal, good structure for managing the process...[changes thought] What is a management structure? It is the field, storage,

transport, and the counter; if we can unite these four links, unite them economically and not as we do now—with one dispatching and fulfilling a plan, the next storing and fulfilling a plan—if we unite these four links, then we will indeed have an efficient chain which will enable us to resolve these problems. I am, for example, deeply convinced that at the current time the root lies precisely there; without resolving this problem, we won't resolve the main issue.

"I will just cite a piece of information which has been given to me. It is about the Central Union of Consumers Cooperatives. Because of the conservative nature of this organization, in many rayons the commodity resources of potatoes, fruit, and vegetables are utilized by 30 percent, maximum 50 percent, in citizens' private subsidiary plots, horticultural and small-holding societies. You study the GDR, how they do things there. They gather everything in to the last apple; they buy from the population to the last apple, and then sell it to the population. We can see what reserves there are here from the following example: Poltava Oblast Union of Consumers Societies in the Ukraine last year bought from the population 46,000 tonnes of cucumbers and tomatoes. At the same time, in five oblasts in the central Non-Chernozem Zone of the RSFSR—Belogorod, Voronezh, Kursk, Lipetsk, and Tambov Oblasts, that is oblasts where everything is grown, as they say—the Russian consumers' cooperatives procured just 10,000 [no unit as heard] cucumbers and tomatoes, or one-fifth of the amount from Poltava Olbast alone. Here is an example for you. Is it possible to reconcile ourselves with this matter? All the same, we will come to this. I mean we will set up complexes in towns that will combine production, transport, storage, and trade. Let them set them up; however, this must be done under their aegis. And perhaps even major enterprises. For example, why should a major works, such as Zil, not set up under its own wing, for instance, five trade middleman-cooperatives? Let them buy potatoes somewhere and sell them to the works. But relations will then be in some way regulated by structures of this kind. Perhaps this is what we should do, comrades. What is your view? [words indistinct from audience]

"Correct? All right, this will be, nonetheless, a step forward. I think that the draft that was presented can be taken as a basis. But instruct Vsevolod Serafimovich to carry out thorough work on it, taking due account of today's exchange of views; very many observations have continued to come in. Let the comrades now work properly; there is a basis there, but clearly a bit of work needs to be done.

"I think, comrades, we can end on this. I thank all the comrades who took an active part, and I wish you success."

Medvedev Visits Mosfilm Studio 16 January

PM1801123089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "The Creative Quest—Working for Restructuring"]

[Text] The country's biggest movie studio, Mosfilm, has an important place in the creative work of the multinational Soviet movie industry. The best works created here by masters of all generations have won wide recognition among viewers and have rightly become part of the treasury of world cinema. The movie studio now consists of 10 creative associations which are striving to put into practice a new model of cinematography. But this process is not simple, and that is retarding the resolution of many creative, production, and technical tasks.

On 16 January V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, visited the Mosfilm movie studio. He toured the studios and inspected the new complex.

A meeting took place with the creative aktiv and representatives of the labor collective. Attention was focused on the tasks of Soviet movie makers at this crucial stage of restructuring.

V.N. Dostal, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Cinematography and general director of the Mosfilm studio; O.D. Nikitin, secretary of the studio party committee; Yu.Ya. Rayzman, B.K. Chernykh, S.A. Solovyev, G.N. (?Tsaneliya) [name illegible], S.N. Kolosov, and V.N. Naumov, artistic leaders of creative ssociations; and directors A.G. (?Arkhi) [name illegible], T.N. Lisitsian, M.M. Kutsiyev, N.S. Mikhalkov, and (?.G.) Chukhray [initials illegible] said that people at Mosfilm, like all Soviet movie makers, regard it as their most important task to concentrate on creative work connected with creating works that accord with the spirit of the times. Last year Mosfilm created several pictures devoted to the vital problems of today, questions of youth education, and the tragic chapters of history. But the number of such pictures is not great, and artistic merit is not always up to the high criteria of today. A number of questions connected with production and creative processes were raised at the meeting.

V.A. Medvedev addressed those present. He stressed that today's discussion should be viewed in the light of the meeting with personalities from science and culture held at the CPSU Central Committee recently.

That meeting was really important and in many ways represented a turning point. M.S. Gorbachev's speech gave an assessment of the ideological situation in society, which requires effective and responsible actions by everyone who cares about the future of restructuring.

The processes of democratization and glasnost are developing. But at the same time the range of opinions has become wider and the struggle more acute. This process is fundamentally healthy and positive, and is raising the socialist pluralism of opinions to a new level. We are in favor of its continuing, V.A. Medvedev said.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary put forward some ideas on the problems of the moviemaking process. He noted that the movie industry, like the whole of society, is going through a phase of endeavor. The most important achievements along this path are the process of ideological and artistic emancipation and the renunciation of command-and-administer methods of leadership. In this connection V.A. Medvedev drew attention to the return to cultural circulation of movies that had lain on the shelf, as well as the movie industry's active handling of moral themes and youth problems.

Some steps have also been taken in the process of organizational and economic restructuring of the movie industry. The idea of strengthening democratic principles in the management of the moviemaking process and the widening of the creative and economic autonomy of movie studios and associations merit approval. At the same time the development of the new model is no easy matter. The initial proposals were in many respects vague and not entirely well thought out. Now they are being perfected.

V.A. Medvedev drew the attention of the meeting's participants to the ideological and artistic aspect of the moviemaking process. He stressed that not all the processes taking place are satisfactory. A clear contradiction still exists between the demands made on the new movie industry and its actual content.

The artistic assimilation of a stage of life that is past is in progress. Yet the period of our cleaning up and reinterpretation of the past is dragging on. It is necessary, but there is a huge social demand for creative analysis of the new material offered by life, the social processes that are of crucial significance for the country's life. The one-sided emphasis on the shady aspects of present-day reality causes concern. It is not a question of calling on moviemakers once again to engage in a superficial, hasty portrayal of restructuring—nor can they bypass the main processes that society is going through.

The speaker dwelt on the role of the USSR State Committee for Cinematography at the sector headquarters, directing the production and creative activity of the movie industry. At the same time the USSR Union of Cinema Workers could more actively influence the process of improving the ideological and aesthetic standard of movies.

In conclusion V.A. Medvedev wished the Mosfilm people increased activeness in creative and social fields and participation in restructuring processes.

V.A. Medvedev also visited the Moscow Film Printing Factory, toured its production shops, and talked with workers, engineers, and technicians. He was accompanied by A.I. Kamshalov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Cinematography, and Yu.S. Karabasov, secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

On the same day the CPSU Central Committee secretary had a meeting with members of the bureau of Gagarinskiy party raykom in Moscow.

Armenian Earthquake Commission's Proceedings
PM1901125989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report on the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission 17 January conference in Yerevan; "Coordinating Strategy"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] As has already been reported, the commission of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, chaired by Comrade Ryzhkov, held a conference in Yerevan late on the night of 17 January. There is a new stage in dealing with the consequences of the earthquake in the disaster zone. In the tragic month last December the goal was to save the lives of people buried under the debris of collapsed buildings, and right now the task of fully restoring the vital activity of the region is on the agenda.

Numerous detachments of surveyors, planners, and builders who have arrived from all republics are beginning to develop a broad front of construction work. This start was made possible by the efforts of many ministries and the concern of hundreds of specialists who have completed drawing up a number of specific programs designed to ensure the implementation of extensive decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on the restoration of the socioeconomic potential of the region.

Exactly 1 month ago the first expanded session of the commission was held with the participation of the leaders of all the ministries and services engaged in undoing the consequences of the earthquake. It was precisely then that the long-term program for the restoration of the ruined towns and villages was beginning to be drafted. Now the wide-ranging plan has been embodied in specific solutions and tasks for the army of builders. In the hall are diagrams, boards, and tables. In the reports of the leaders of the combined groups, main attention is given not only to the number of the active units but also to their quality, attention to related tasks, and the coordination of activities.

Comrade Bibin, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Construction Committee, speaking about what forces have been concentrated in the places of disaster said: It is impossible to build a new town for 200,000 people in 2 years without electronomic management control. But even a computer will not help in the situation, for instance, in which Ukrainian builders found themselves

in Kirovakan. Here the work front is being held back not by seismic and survey reports arriving late, as in other towns and villages, but by the protracted drawing up of documents, required for the allocation of land for new construction projects. The builders of the Ukraine, who have already laid four foundations, are spending their time standing about.

What else is delaying the development of work? Many ministries could by themselves organize extraction of construction materials on the spot, in particular sand and gravel. But they do not always find a common language with the Republic Gosstroy [State Construction Committee]. Harsh and principled assessments at a working conference were given to instances of such lack of harmony.

Nowadays there is special discussion of the power industry in Armenia. High professionalism and a feeling of responsibility were displayed by the workers of this sphere in the first stage of the elimination of the consequences of the natural disaster. Power supplies to Leninakan, Kirovakan, and Spitak have been fully restored and this guarantees the impending scope of building work, provided there is a strict saving of electricity. In connection with the decision of the USSR Council of Ministers or the shutting down of the power units of the Armenian atomic power station, a complex of measures is being taken to overcome the expected difficulties in supplying power, including power to northern Armenia. And this is what Comrade Sadovskiy, USSR first deputy minister of power and electrification, spoke about in his speech. The Razdan GRES—where on 25 January after the completion of overhaul ahead of schedule, the fourth power unit with a capacity of 200,000 kw will be restarted—will assume an increased load.

The conference analyzed exactingly the progress of work being done to restore rural populated spots and production units of the agroindustrial complex in the stricken areas, and, in particular, the readiness of the countryside for spring agricultural work. A report on this matter was presented by Comrade Sizenko, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom [State Agro-Industrial Committee] and USSR minister. Detachments of the Agroprom containing hundreds of volunteers from all oblasts of the RSFSR and the other union republic in their ranks have done quite a bit to normalize life in the stricken villages, to organize the wintering over of cattle, and to prepare things for spring sowing. The restoration of disrupted irrigation systems and of housing and production units has begun, Comrade Vasilyev, USSR minister of land reclamation and water resources reported. However, the rate of this work does not correspond to real needs and requirements.

The state of affairs in the countryside, particularly in connection with the migration of part of the Azerbaijani population brought about by the recent interethnic frictions, causes serious worry and concern. The clearing of building rubble and destroyed concrete structures from arable land has acquired special acuteness. More than 2,000 hectares have already been given over to such dumps. The commission demanded that immediate measures be taken to save arable land.

It was noted at the session that local cadres must be involved more actively in restoration work. A considerable part—up to 17 percent—of the able-bodies population of northern Armenia—mainly bricklayers, road builders, and other specialists—are as a rule not employed in the economy of the republic. Each year they go beyond its borders to earn money. Today they are extremely necessary at home.

A report by Comrade Saakyan, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Armenian SSR, on the restoration and construction of industrial enterprises in the earthquake-stricken areas, and a report by Comrade Mkrtchyan, chairman of the Gosplan of the Armenian SSR, on the resoration and normalization of the work at establishments of the health service, the trade network, everyday services, the municipal economy, urban transport, education, and other everyday services, were examined.

It was noted that the union republic ministries, considering the wishes of the public, are examining issues connected with certain changes to the structure of industrial production in the republic. The proposal that every newly completed factory should have well-equipped consumer goods production lines received support. As members of the commission noted, particular attention will be devoted to new technologies and to the development of ecologically clear production facilities. It is necessary to speed up the provision of work for people who have lost their employment as a result of the earthquake. To this end, we must broadly develop home-based work brigades, members of which will return to workshops as and when their enterprises are restored.

Summing up the results of the session, Comrade Ryzhkov noted that the towns in the disaster zone which the members of the commission had visited the previous day had literally come back to life. It was pleasant to hear the first bell at the Leninakan school located in tents, and to see residents not near ruins, but in streets, at work, and in shops. But these are only the first steps. For reasons that were discussed at the conference, restoration work is thus far going slowly. Today the sticking point is mainly the issue of project documentation and the allocation of land for construction sites.

The council of ministers of the Armenian SSR and all the competent organizations have been tasked with speeding up surveying work and completing in the near future the compilation of maps of seismic microzoning. Otherwise the builders and specialists heading for the earthquake region from other republics would have to be held back. This must not be permitted. Everything that has been mapped out in the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers must be fulfilled on schedule.

The attention of health care bodies was drawn to the need to carry out effective prophylactic measures in order to prevent a deterioration in the sanitary-epidemiological situation in the stricken areas when the spring arrives. The broad launching of work on every front, with a precise rhythm, composure, and coordination, are the key to the speediest healing of the Armenia's wounds and to the implementation of the programmatic decisions adopted by the party and government concerning elimination of the aftermath of the earthquake.

Taking part in the work of the commission were Comrade Slyunkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Comrade Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian CP Central Committee; and Comrades Batalin and Voronin, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Commission Members Comment

LD1901002489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 18 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newcast: Report incorporating conversations with Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and head of the Politburo commission on the Armenian earthquake; Nikolay Nikitovich Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Sergey Aleksandrovich Ambartsumyan, rector of Yerevan University; and Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; by special correspondent Tikhomirov in Yerevan 18 January—recorded]

[Text] [Tikhomirov] The scientific production association for laser technology of Yerevan State University—Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov and Nikolay Nikitovich Slyunkov were here this morning. This major scientific center, one of the leaders in the country today in the sphere of laser technology and growing artificial crystals, began with a small basic research laboratory. Where is the novelty here? Well, it lies, above all, in the fact that the association is, if one may express oneself thus, a closed ciruit: scientific research, engineering developments, and finally, production of output and its transfer to the client—they are all there, under one roof. One more point: People in scientific research work from the student's bench here, so that the problem of cadres is also solved. They train both qualified specialists and candidates and doctors of science for themselves.

Sergey Aleksandrovich Ambartsyumyan, rector of Yerevan University, talked about this and about the new association's immediate prospects at the meeting. With this, the trip through Armenia by Comrades Ryzhkov and Slyunkov ended. Before their departure, they gave an interview for the Vremya program:

[Beging recording] [Tikhomirov] Nikolay Ivanovich, to judge by everything, things have gotten easier here, have they not?

[Ryzhkov] Easier, significantly easier, and we are quite satisfied with what we have seen and with the kind of situation that is taking shape in these towns. Of course, the towns today are not what they were even 3 or 4 weeks ago. It is easier, easier to breathe, and the most important thing is that the people have started to move away slightly. And from the point of view of the work, we discussed it at the republic's party and economic aktiv yesterday. In the second half of the day, we examined all the issues thoroughly in the Politburo commission, so I think that the second phase now is beginning to develop properly. Of course, there are problems, but in my opinion, the fundamental questions of the allocation of land and the selection of sites will be resolved in the next few days, then development will go very well here. In general, power is accumulating here.

[Tikhomirov] Nikita [as heard] Nikitovich, enormous construction might and capacities from throughout the country are being gathered here. Will it not turn out that our interdepartmental disunity will be reflected in miniature here once more? The signs are already appearing.

[Slyunov] Well, you know, I would not say that any kind of disunity is making an appearance. I think that on the contrary a systematic approach has already taken shape and is taking shape now, a system in all directions, both from the viewpoint of restoring socioeconomic establishments and of restoring both industry and housing. Those small hold-ups that still exist are simply elements of the refining of the entire system.

[Tikhomirov] Yesterday, or rather the day before yesterday, when time capsules were being laid in the foundations of a new apartment block, the text was written in three languages: Armenian, Ukrainian, and Russian. We have various languages here, and a mass of people. Will they or will they not understand each other?

[Ryzhkov] Under such extreme conditions, in which teams are traveling in from throughout the union, in which trains and construction organizations are coming in, it would seem to me that they are finding a common language here very quickly, very quickly. I think the situation here will be a healthy and very good one—I am convinced of it.

[Slyunov] A union of aims and tasks unites everyone here. You can feel it in everything.

[Tikhomirov] Will it not happen that, in general, a kind of freeloading attitude will set in with time, a they-will-build-everything-for-us, do-everything-for-us attitude? This already has emerged in conversations I have had with people.

[Arutyunyan] You have touched on a topical subject, but I must say to you that a party-economic aktiv meeting took place in our republic yesterday and a plenum of the Central Committee of the republic's Communist party, in which we very sharply raised questions of the most active participation of the republic's party, local soviet, and economic bodies, and of all of the working people, in restoration and construction work. I think that such a thing cannot be because the general mood in the republic, in labor collectives, and among the working people and young people, is such that one must participate in the most active fashion, in both construction and restoration work. At least, this month or so has shown that the people, the working people of Armenia, are fully resolved—strictly speaking—that this is our sacred duty, our obligation.

[Tikhomirov] Nikolay Ivanovich, on Saturday, before you flew here, there was a presidium, a Council of Ministers session. The very serious situation that had developed in the economy was discussed. This adds a great deal, this colossal expenditure going to Armenia. How will this be fitted in?

[Ryzhkov] I said in my speech yesterday that of course the country would not be unaffected by this diverting of material, human, and financial resources. Our first calculations were that we would spend R6.5 billion on rebuilding work. That does not include material assistance and compensation to people for material damage, which we are doing now. The figure now is rising to R8 billion. This is virtually half the annual growth in our country's national income. Therefore there will be great difficulties, but we have a firm policy in this direction.

The first thing is that we will on no account recede from tackling the social problems we have mapped out for the current 5-year plan. So this remains unshakable: housing, kindergartens, hospitals, everything connected with the social sphere. We will have to tighten up here and there from the point of view of state expenditure. We believe that there are large reserves there, but we drew attention on Saturday, when this question was being examined...

[Tikhomirov, interrupting] The tightening up which...

[Ryzhkov] Yes, tightening up. At the end of the day we must tighten up. We can see that we are spending a lot in areas where it would be possible not to. There are some projects we can do without for the time being. Third, [numbering as heard] we must, of course, raise production efficiency. If we reach the targets we have set, then we will, of course, be able to make up to some extent for the additional expenditure we will have to make in Armenia during these 2 years.

In general, I would say that the situation will, of course, be complicated. We must not build any illusions that all this will pass without leaving a trace for the country. You get nothing for nothing, as they say, but there are ways that will enable us to eliminate this terrible natural calamity without infringing, on the whole, on the development of our country. I am convinced that we can do this, but we must approach this matter soberly and with great understanding.

You drew attention to the fact that when we said that we must reduce our capital investments to some extent this year, on the whole this is being accepted in the ordinary way because there are too many projects being constructed: long drawn-out projects, as we call them, but when it comes to specific matters, and everybody is saying "Anybody else but not me", then we will exert our authority here, and we will sort matters out. If we can do without it, we will make the decision. We can live without these projects for the time being.

[Slyunkov] In any case, the most important structural advances in the economy will remain unchanged.

[Tikhomirov] As far as your visit today is concerned, Armenia's scientific potential is really quite high because we are well aware that its electronics and its laser technology...

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] I told Sergey Aleksandrovich that we are very grateful that he invited us, literally an hour before our flight to Moscow. We were, to some extent, perhaps even struck by the fact that here in the university such a huge, powerful, integrated, scientific, I would even say scientific production center has been created, but he himself will tell you the rest [video shows Ryzhkov pointing to Ambartsumyan]

[Ambartsumyan] First, I must thank you for this visit, and in general not only are we grateful for this, for that is natural. There is a fine Armenian proverb. They say it is better to light a torch than to curse the darkness all one's life. Today, every moment everyone is lighting a torch for Armenia, and we all are very grateful.

[Tikhomirov] Will the Politburo commission continue its work?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, the commission will continue to work. Basically we will be in Moscow, but the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers will be working here in Yerevan for the moment. Comrade Batalin will be working here until 25 January. On 25 January he will be replaced by Comrade Voronin. He will, as they say, represent the Politburo commission here. So we will continue to work, and the representatives of the commission will for the time being be in Armenia. We will determine later for how long this will continue, but it will remain here for the time being. [end recording] [video shows Ryzhkov and Slyunkov being shown around the production association; close-up of laser equipment and other technology; Ambartsumyan chairing meeting with Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, and others seated around a table; Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Ambartsumyan, and Arutyunyan talking to Tikhomirov outside association building]

Azerbaijan Party Activists on Nagorno-Karabakh

LD1801170489 Moscow TASS in English 1647 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Baku January 18 TASS—Azerbaijan's leading party activists met in Baku to discuss the tasks of party organizations in this Transcaucasian republic in the light of Soviet Communist Party Central Committee directives for normalizing the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it.

They were addressed by Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee.

The meeting approved the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decree introducing a special form of government in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region of Azerbaijan and expressed satisfaction with measures aimed at normalizing the situation in the region and preventing a further execerbation of interethnic relations.

Speakers stressed that the decision that has been taken is the most sensible and correct in the given situation and is completely in line with the fundamental interests of the working people of both Azerbaijan and Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh region.

It was noted that working people in Azerbaijan wholeheartedly support the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee's policy of principle for easing tension and restoring the traditional friendship and brotherhood of the two peoples.

Special attention was paid to creating conditions for the return of resettlers to their home parts and ensuring their social security and safety guarantees.

The meeting urged the Communist and all working people of Azerbaijan to spare no efforts to fulfill the party and government decision and the challenging and important tasks stemming from the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee's address to the party and the Soviet people.

Vezirov Addresses Meeting

NC1701111889 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0700 GMT 15 Jan 89

[Report on speech by Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, at the Azerbaijan SSR party aktivs meeting in Baku on 13 January—read by announcer]

[Text] [passage indistinct] There is only one way to strengthen the people's confidence in the party—by broadening and deepening the reconstruction procedures and carrying out (?inexhaustible) work to improve the welfare of the Soviet people. This is the main theme and objective of the CPSU Central Committee's preelection appeal. The appeal will grow in significance to the extent that its theme and main ideas are explained by all the party organizations. In view of this, it is necessary to strengthen the appeal with all the required political and organizational measures.

The forthcoming elections have brought to light new problems. Effective ideological work must be carried out to settle them and [words indistinct]. Everyone must actively participate in the election campaign and contribute toward the holding of successful elections on the basis of the principles which are based on our political [word indistinct].

(?Vezirov briefed the convocation) on the meeting that was held by the leaders of Azerbaijan and Armenia in Moscow. He said:

Many of the problems that are related to the question of normalizing the situation in the region were discussed. It was noted that the unstable situation called for immediate and effective measures by both sides. The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau put forward concrete proposals, the objective of which was to interrelate the measures that have been put into effect with a view to normalizing interethnic relations and consolidating the traditional ties and friendship between the two peoples.

Comrade Arutyunyan supported these recommendations and we agreed to draw up joint proposals, setting up an inter-republics commission for that purpose.

The question of the refugees was a significant part of our talks with our Armenian comrades. It was noted that [words indistinct]. The situation in the region, the need to remove interethnic strife, and the ways to restore security and peace were the focus of attention during Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting with a group of Supreme Soviet deputies from the Azerbaijan SSR and Armenian SSR. Drawing up a program of practical measures aimed at changing the trend of developments and normalizing the situation is now possible through the principled way of exchanging views.

On 12 January the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium discussed in detail the situation in and around Nagorno-Karabakh [NKAO] and heard briefings on the situation by the first secretaries of the Azerbaijan and Armenian Communist Party Central Committees. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, [words indistinct] decreed the temporary implementation of a special administrative system in NKAO on the basis of the preservation of NKAO as an autonomous oblast within the framework of Azerbaijan SSR in accordance with the USSR Constitution.

After noting the very significant political importance of the decisions that have been adopted, Vezirov briefed the participants of the meeting on the main theme of the meetings and discussions that were held in Moscow. He said the following:

We informed the USSR leaders that, as a result of the measures taken to remove interethnic discord, we have succeeded in securing a change in the general feeling of the society and in controlling the situation. The majority of the republic's workers have condemned nationalist and extremist slogans and manifestations, (words indistinct], and expressed support for the CPSU Central Committee's principled policy. [sentence indistinct] Significant donations have been made to the fund that was set up to provide relief aid to those who suffered from the earthquake in Armenia. [sentence indistinct]

Noting that particular attention has been focused on realizing the USSR Council of Ministers' decision to upgrade the pace of the NKAO's socioeconomic development, Vezirov explained the work that has been achieved. He said:

Regardless of the NKAO's [words indistinct]. All this is auspicious. However, the situation has not stabilized in the region at all. Comrades, I would like to very seriously draw your attention to the [word indistinct] article that was published in the republic's newspapers under the title: "The Genuine Interests of the People Must Be Served." It has been reported that the article was also published in the newspapers in the Georgian and Uzbek SSR's.

The [word indistinct], suggestions, and conclusions put forward in the article to explain the progress, causes, and results of the incidents, plus the principled assessment of the activities of the circles that try to undermine the reconstruction course, are very important. The forces opposed to reconstruction in the two republics, [word indistinct], the Nagorno-Karabakh and Krunk Committees, which carry on their activities in secret, and others, including the [words indistinct] of economy, are continuing to incite interethnic hostilities and aggravate problems in the NKAO to use them for their [word indistinct] purposes. Of course, we have suppressed them to a certain degree, but (?we have been unable to stop them) from influencing thousands of people. [sentence indistinct]

As in the past, the activities of extremist nationalists in the NKAO are preparing a climate in Azerbaijan for extremism. The move made by the NKAO party obkom, the NKAO Komsomol Committee, the NKAO Council of Trade Unions, and [words indistinct] to ostentatiously exclude themselves from the republic's structure has been described as [words indistinct]. All these incidents stemmed from the (?continuous calls made by) the NKAO leadership to include the NKAO within the framework of Armenia or the RSFSR.

We shall continue to ward off the illegal activities of the (?corrupt) forces, which are opposed to reconstruction, in the future. [passage indistinct]

Comrade Seidov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers, sent a letter on the eve of the new year. The letter said that there have been cases of disrupted work rhythms in the Azerbaijan SSR State Statistics Committee and attempts to disrupt the work of the collective at times of crisis situations. I can add that a number of the members of the State Statistics Committee were among the most active participants in the unauthorized demonstration in front of the Central Committee building on one of those days. They generated fabrications and provoked unhealthy disturbances and emotions. The leading officials of the committee remained inactive and refrained from doing anything.

Mamedov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR State Statistics Committee, is a candidate member of the Central Committee. [sentence indistinct] Acting with political [word indistinct], Comrades Veliyev and Gadzhiyev, deputy chairmen of the Azerbaijan SSR State Statistics Committee, signed a letter which contained only a proposal for relieving [name indistinct], a deputy of the Baku Soviet of People's Deputies, of his tasks by having him withdrawn. How can such activities be understood? What is this? Is it not an open resistance against reconstruction and against our party's policy? Maybe they wanted to see the entire republic go up in flames. Maybe they wanted bloodshed. [passage indistinct]

Although it is still early to talk about definite results, it can be said at the present time that bribery, theft of socialist property, and [words indistinct] have spread deeply to all the economic domains and their leading officials. The agro-industrial complex, particularly the food products industry, can be given as an example. [passage indistinct]

The work of the central organs has created serious dissatisfaction. They were (?seriously) criticized at the Baku party conference. Many of the workers of the law enforcement bodies have cooperated with criminal elements and used their [word indistinct] posts for [word indistinct] purposes. Recently, serious changes have been effected in the cadres of these bodies, particularly in the Committee for State Security and [name indistinct] Ministry. This procedure is continuing. Regrettably, however, the leading officials of the republic's procuratorate and supreme court are displaying lack of courage in this important work. [passage indistinct]

Tension continues to prevail. However, resolving a number of problems without delay is possible. Actually, they must be resolved. The question of the [word indistinct] of the refugees is essential for normalizing interethnic relations at the present time. We noted this in particular

in Moscow. The refugees and the failure to [word indistinct] them will be a source of continued tension in the two republics. We have observed how successfully the political adventurers are using the (?situation) of these people.

Comrade Vezirov asserted that more than 19,000 Armenians have returned to Azerbaijan SSR so far. On the other hand, Azerbaijani families have just started to return to Armenia. This process must be facilitated in every way. Vezirov said:

It is common knowledge that the people [words indistinct] promises and calls. In view of this, we have agreed to consolidate the joint appeal of the Azerbaijani and Armenian Communist Party Central Committees, Supreme Soviet Presidiums, and Councils of Ministers through the effective steps and measures that will be taken by all the party, Soviet, and economic organs. The common destiny of about 250,000 citizens of the two republics is in question.

This matter has been examined in detail during the enlarged meeting of the Azerbkaijan Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. We and the leaders of the Armenian SSR agreed to give effective assurances for [words indistinct], have the refugees return to their orginal homes, restore their legal rights, and pay the [word indistinct] workers. Comrade Sarkisyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, has assured us that measures will be taken to vacate all the illegally occupied apartments and houses of the migrant Azerbaijani families.

The meetings of the leaders of the cities and rayons to which Azerbaijani and Armenian families have moved must contribute toward the process of returning the refugees to their homes. We have appealed to and urged the Armenian leaders to focus attention on establishing relations between the leaders of these rayons and to contribute toward this process. Experience shows how useful this will be. I spoke about this when I visited (?Zangyaran) and Kubatly. I have seen how actively the [word indistinct] rayon party committees are working with the leading officials of the neighboring rayons.

Favorable results have been achieved in other rayons, such as Kazakh, Tauz, Shamkhor, Dashkesan, and a number of others. The citizens are working without sparing any effort. [passage indistinct]

Waging a resolute struggle against unfounded information, which causes rumors and fabrications, is of particular importance at the present time. Unhealthy polemics must be avoided in every way. We must control the activities of the mass media organs. Every publication and [words indistinct] must contribute to normalizing the situation in the region. The relevant decision of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo must be taken as a guide in that regard, without fail. An effort must be made to see to it that our newspapers publish reports on the life in neighboring republics and that serious publications and (?programs) related to current developments are carried by the central press organs and the All-Union Radio and Television Network.

A determined effort must be made to heed the Leninist norms and principles of the national policy, without fail, and a resolute struggle must be waged against those who try to disrupt stability and provoke people into engaging in illegal activities. The principles that provide for improving the economic and social life of the workers and [words indistinct] must be regarded as valid directions in normalizing interethnic relations. I hope the leaders of our country will give high marks to the internationalist approach of the workers toward [words indistinct] and the tragic disaster in the neighboring fraternal republic.

Our task is to further and increase these traditions in every way, to create a significant turning point in ideological and mass educational work. Particular attention must be focused on the methods that will be applied in this work. Gatherings and meetings are not enough; we recommend that more advice be given to individual gatherings. In short, talks must be held with the people with an open heart. Only then will we be able to win the confidence and [words indistinct].

I recall saying at the Baku conference that I once asked the party committee secretary of a large establishment whether they visited the homes of the Communists. I asked a similar question to the director of the factory referred to after [words indistinct]. I understood that the situation had not changed. However, the citizens said that they will rectify their own [word indistinct]. I am pleased to say today that they have kept their promise. While discussing this matter, I wish to mention once again that the party workers must become familiar with the psychology of the people, live with their anxieties and problems, give detailed answers to the questions that make them uneasy, and succeed in resolving their problems.

The NKAO problem occupied a lot of time in the talks and meetings held in Moscow. While preparing for these talks and meetings and for the meeting of the commission headed by Mikhail Gorbachev, we searched for various ways and means to resolve the dispute. This was how the joint appeal to the refugees from the leaders of the two republics was drawn up. We conveyed our proposals on the (?establishment of) interethnic peace to the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. We were well aware of the need to search for ways based on sound thinking.

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium appointed Comrade Volskiy as their representative in NKAO. Of course, this was a useful assessment. A lot of work has been carried out. However, due to the limited authority of the representative, the opportunities he had at his disposal have not been fully

used as a result of the open resistance of particularly the (?corrupt) elements and nationalists in the NKAO. Nevertheless, it is possible to say that the right direction in mutual concession has been established. However, experience has shown that more progress must be made. This was demanded by the appeals of the republic's workers. They asked several times in the discussions held in the work collectives, party and worker meetings, and rallies when law and order would be established in the NKAO.

Taking into consideration the fact that the continuation of the very dangerous activities of the NKAO's leading organs would create greater disasters, and moving with the need to end the harmful activities of those individuals who work against the members of another nationality, we found it necessary to consider the question of extraordinary measures in order to restore public order and socialist law in the NKAO, safeguard the people in the social field, and normalize the situation. [sentence indistinct]

We shall not allow this situation to recur, because we are all responsible for the future of our country and for the unhindered progress of reconstruction.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decree on the implementation of a special administrative system in the NKAO will contribute toward this. The suggestions we made for the temporary nature of this measure, which were summed up in the decree, were supported by the party and state leaders. The forces that are eager to put up opposition formerly spread the idea that the NKAO's subordination to the alliance organs constitutes an intermediary stage in the drive to exclude the NKAO from the framework of the Azerbaijan SSR. In fact, they are still spreading this idea. However, the decree also emphasizes that the NKAO's territorial structure cannot be changed. The special administration committee will maintain mutual relations with our republic's leadership.

The need for this committee stemmed from the fact that the NKAO leaders shamelessly pursued a harmful political line—that is, an open nationalist policy. This significantly harmed reconstruction work and the NKAO's development, and also caused moral damage. The party must make a serious assessment of the activities of the NKAO leaders. They must be removed from their posts. We raised the question of [words indistinct] of each and every Communist at appropriate times. [passage omitted]

The important thing is that the demands of the CPSU rules and regulations must be binding on all, and everyone must be responsible [words indistinct]. In view of this, we are saying that we are aware of the ill intentions of certain forces in Azerbaijan against the work carried out to effect reforms. We made statements in that regard during the recent party conference in Baku. The newspapers and the television network carried detailed information on the work of the conference. We are aware that the number of those outside the boundaries of our region who try to use the NKAO incidents for anti-reconstruction purposes are not few.

The citizens are aware that appeals, programs, and leaflets are distributed in a number of places from time-to-time. When one asks where they come from, the reply is that they have been derived from the documents of the Estonian popular front, which have been acquired through Yerevan. The fact is that none of them are filled with a high sense of responsibility and concern for the future of their own people.

Vezirov later pointed to the recommendations included in the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decree, and noted that the measures taken in connection with the NKAO will be realized on the basis of mutual cooperation with other republic organs and with due consideration for their views. He stated:

The committee of the special administration will (?realize the measures drawn up) to normalize the [word indistinct] situation in the oblast, establish an exemplary state of public order and security, and successfully fulfill the party and government decisions on the NKAO. Implementing the wide-ranging program for the return of the Azerbaijani families who have been forced to leave the NKAO, reemployment of individuals who have been discharged from work, and improvement of the towns are some of the priority tasks. In short, we shall take all the necessary measures to enable the people to live in the Soviet Union in a way worthy of the Soviet people.

Comrade Vezirov placed particular emphasis on the tasks of the party and Soviet organs in the rayons neighboring the NKAO concerning the contribution they can make toward the effort that will be made by the committee of the special administration to restore normal life in the autonomous oblast. He said:

I wish to conclude by noting that everyone must shoulder more responsibility in order to relieve the central authority from anxieties stemming from the interethnic discord in the region. The republic's party organization and all its cadres will certainly intensify their (?contribution to settling vital issues concerning the multinational country), the future of the course of reconstruction, and the revolutionary change in Soviet society.

Baku Citizens' Demands, 'Applications' Received

NC1801194789 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1715 GMT 18 Jan 89

["Notice" by Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District, issued 18 January]

[Text] The situation in the capital is peaceful. The military administration of the Baku City Special District is attaching particular importance to receiving citizens to discuss personal matters and to help them resolve their legal demands and applications.

The military commandant's administration received over 48,000 applications, [word indistinct], and proposals during the course of the special situation. More than 5,000 individuals were received at the private reception room of the military commandant of the special district and more than 8,000 individuals were received at the field military headquarters.

Eighty percent of the applications that were received were resolved on the spot. Those that remained unresolved required additional time. A large number of the responsible workers of the party, Soviet, and law enforcement organs have been involved in settling the problems that have emerged. The city residents, who have actively participated in the effort being made to maintain public law and order and to obstruct negative developments, are worthy of special respect.

More than 500 requests and complaints by the workers have been conveyed to the USSR and Azerbaijan SSR procuracies and to the USSR and Azerbaijan SSR Internal Affairs Ministries. Criminal investigations have been launched in connection with most of them.

There are wide-ranging opportunities for the city residents and for the refugees to appeal to the military command headquarters. Matters concerning housing and [word indistinct], requests for wages from former employment centers, registering, changing houses, a number of injustices, and the pressure directed against Armenian citizens by a number of officials to have them illegally discharged from work are included among the appeals. Because many of these matters do not fall under the jurisdiction of the military administration of the special district, they have been conveyed to the pertinent local party, Soviet, and law enfrocement.

Regarding the question of resolving the problems of the refugees with a view to normalizing interethnic relations, the first positive steps have been taken to have the refugees return to their places of permanent residence. A special department affiliated with the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers has started its work on the refugee problem. The citizens can appeal to the reception center of the Council of Ministers on the matters referred to by calling the following number: 92 63 23.

Meanwhile, the republic-level commission, which helps the citizens who have left their places of permanent residence in Armenian, is continuing its work in the city. Its address is as follows: [Name indistinct] Street, No 63.

We wish to inform the city residents that the military commandant of the special district and his deputy for political affairs will receive citizens on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays from 1700 to 1900 as of 21 January 1989.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District

Baku Arrests for Interethnic Incitement Reported
NC1801195289 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1000 GMT 17 Jan 89

["Notice" by Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District, issued 17 January]

[Text] Peace prevailed in the city during the past day. Serious violations of law were not recorded.

Mekhtiyev Aslan Munsif oglu, Ibragimov Faiz Khalid oglu, Munzeyev Galibkhan Asker oglu, and Abbasov Khudaya Geydar oglu, drivers from the Baku vehicle transportation branch of the Azerbaijan Union of Consumers' Societies, were detained under administrative procedure for 20 days for inciting interethnic hostilities at their workplaces.

In general, 75 people were detained for various offenses during the past day, including 50 individuals for violating curfew hours.

[Signed] Lieutenant General Kolesnikov, military commandant of the Baku City Special District

Azerbaijanis Return to Homes in Armenia
LD1801180889 Moscow TASS in English 1324 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Yerevan January 18 TASS—"Peace to your home" is a famous greeting of peace and prosperity which now sounds especially important in Soviet Armenia. With these words the inhabitants of Pushkino settlement in Stepanavan district met Azerbaijanis who, believing provocative rumours, went to Azerbaijan at the end of last year.

All ten families reentered their completely preserved houses. The decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet "Introduction of Special Administration in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Region of Azerbaijan" played an important role in the return of Azerbaijanis to their native homes in Armenia.

"People believe that all interethnic conflicts will cease," said L. Matchtagyan, a secretary of Spitak District Communist Party. "Our region is inhabited by people of different nationalities. In Yagdan settlement for example live Armenians, Greeks, Kurds and Azerbaijanis. There were no conflicts between them before last November. Later hundreds of families rushed to Azerbaijan. We'll do everything necessary so that peace and prosperity prevail. Speaking about the special administration in Nagorno-Karabakh I consider it to be the only positive solution to stabilise the situation in the autonomous region and in Azerbaijan and Armenia", said Matchtagyan.

1,000 Lithuanians Protest Political Prisoners

LD1901003689 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 0100 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Last night a picket in front of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet building in Vilnius was organized by the "Save the Political Prisoners Committee".

More than 1,000 people took part in the picket. Speeches were made by five people. The picketing lasted for about half an hour and was not interrupted.

As is known, last autumn when the party leadership was changed, political prisoners—and there were up to 10 of them—were released.

However, the "Save the Political Prisoners Committee" expressed its concern about two more prisoners and one person who is currently in exile and who had been incriminated with criminal offenses.

Placards at the picket also urged restoration of nationality rights to priest Alfonsas Svarinskas and Tomas Venclova, a literary scientist, who currently are residing abroad.

The picketers were urged to come to the Supreme Soviet building in a week for the same purpose and to organize a picket tomorrow concerning the status of the Lithuanian language.

Army Paper Answers Lithuanian Critics

PM1801102589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Jan 89 First Edition p2

[Article signed "KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Propaganda Department" under the rubric "On The Subject of a Refutation in TIESA and the Reaction to It by Readers From Lithuania": "Should We Not Dare Have Our Own Opinion?"]

[Text] Debates in the press are now commonplace under the conditions of socialist pluralism of opinions. The possibility of readers disagreeing with a newspaper article is not seen as anything out of the ordinary. There was nothing unusual therefore, at first glance, in the reaction that followed reports by our correspondent Major Yu. Rubtsov from Lithuania at the end of November and beginning of December last year. We will not try to conceal the fact that among the approving responses there have also been some where people have not shared the conclusions drawn by the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA items regarding the situation at that time in the republic and the disposition of social forces.

Well, if they do not agree, they do not agree! Everyone has a right to his own opinion. But there is the question of the tone in which that disagreement is expressed.... For example, associates of Vilnius Clinic No. 8 use very strong expressions: According to them, the author of the items "slings mud at us medical personnel," "deliberately stirs up national enmity between the peoples living in the Lithuanian SSR," and even has the intention of "inspiring hatred toward soldiers of Lithuanian origins." The authors of an article entitled "Out of the Cannon and Through the Eye of the Needle" published in the newspaper TIESA on 11 December 1988 also could not refrain from making similar accusations.

Judging by this newspaper article and the responses to it (mainly from medical personnel), the main objections are prompted by the beginning of a report published in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on 3 December 1988 under the title "'Sajudis' and 'Unity': Instead of or Together?" The subject, I will remind you, was a visitor who appealed to "Unity" because a relation of his, who does not speak Lithuanian, had been denied some medical treatment she needed. This is not true, the authors of the refutation in TIESA unanimously agreed, which is also the opinion shared by workers from Vilnius City Hospital No. 2, the republic bureau of forensic medicine expertise, and others who all wrote in to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. The patient, they said, had been given an injection and a consultation, after which, it is true, she had been sent home despite her poor state of health, which required her to have an emergency operation the following day. The article also makes it clear that there are no doctors in the hospital who do not speak Russian and that many even try to speak with their patients in Polish. It therefore draws the conclusion that the correspondent had resorted to fabrication.

We should make it clear at this point that TIESA is published in Lithuanian and read mainly by people of the indigenous nationality who, to all appearances, do not subscribe to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. It is no coincidence, therefore, that many angry responses sent to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA begin almost word for word as follows: "We read about your lies in TIESA...." In other words, the comrades rushed to accuse our newspaper without even stopping to read it first, accepting the allegations made in TIESA as the gospel truth. What is more, some of the "missives" were so similar to one another they could have been carbon copies—for example, the responses from associates of the republic bureau of forensic medicine expertise and the scientific research institute of oncology.

If the authors of these letters had read not only the TIESA item but the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA report as well, they would probably have noticed that our correspondent did not make any attempt to accuse medical personnel of nationalism. It was certainly no accident that we did not give the name of either the patient or the medical institution to which she turned. We cited the incident (and not just this incident alone, as is clear from the report) with one aim only: To show readers the kind of problems a social formation like "Unity" must deal with. And the report quotes V. Ivanov, one of the leaders of "Unity," as clearly saying that no statements like these

are taken on faith; they are all checked out. Only when they have been confirmed does "Unity" apply to the appropriate state and social bodies to take action.

In this particular case, comrades from TIESA also became involved in clarifying the situation. This could only have been welcomed if it were not for the fact that the emphasis they chose to place on the matter was bewildering. It is hard not to agree with the thoughts expressed in an open letter to the TIESA editorial office by V. Ivanov and T. Matskyavichene, a copy of which was sent to our own editorial office by the authors: "The relative of the patient came to us at 'Unity' not at all because he doubted the linguistic abilities of the doctors treating his niece. He also did not doubt the professional abilities of the doctor.... But he greatly doubted the humanity of the relationship which arose between the patient and the doctor."

A general trend can be seen in this one particular incident. Using the pretext that it is supposedly impossible for anyone who does not live in the republic to consider the processes taking place here with total objectivity, some comrades are generally denying central press organs the right to speak on Lithuanian problems.

V. Abromaytis, a history teacher from Lithuania's Varenskiy Rayon, accuses the editorial office directly: "Reports published recently in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA from Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia blatantly distort the facts on what is happening and paint the blackest picture of the situation that took shape in these republics in the autumn." He also mentions the notorious concept of the honor of the regiment, as well as slander and mudslinging. And the facts? There are none.

This, incidentally, is also true of a whole series of other letters; their authors hopefully will not take umbrage at this. On the other hand, there is annoyance that the appraisals of the central organ of the military press do not coincide with their own. Judging from their letter, a group of students at the Kaunas Polytechnical Institute are in favor of pluralism of opinions and the free expression of these opinions. But they deny KRASNAYA ZVEZDA this right. Otherwise they would certainly not have hurled the accusation that KRASNAYA ZVEZDA is guided by the principle: "Who is not with us is against us." "Does it mean that whoever does not support the 'general line' and does not refer to 'big brother' immediately becomes an agent provocateur and a renegade?" the students ask. Allow us to ask: When has KRASNAYA ZVEZDA ever made such a claim? If our readers are hinting at the idea—popular in the republic—of economic independence and broader political rights for republic bodies, our newspaper has always been in favor of this.

Students from Kaunas and also T. Makachinas from Vilnius accuse us of slandering such an authoritative public movement as "Sajudis." Here, too, it is not clear in which article or even in which paragraph there is evidence of this. It is another matter that we have formed our own opinion—different from that of the movement's ardent supporters—of a number of its program theses and practical actions. But in this, as they say, allow us to form our own judgement, even if, in the eyes of some of our opponents, it will be interpreted as the attitude of "bureaucrats and people in the grip of stagnation." It is ultimately a question of the heart of the matter rather than labels.

We also cannot ignore another group of letters. Their authors go beyond these individual incidents and even the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA items, but use them as their point of departure for analyzing the situation in Lithuania as a whole. It goes without saying that their opinions also cannot be considered the last word, but it would be wrong not to refer to them.

Someone called Baltsevich, for example, who is a resident of the republic's capital, expresses concern on behalf of 12 families with regard to the certain degree of tension in relations between people of the indigenous nationality and people from outside the republic. In his opinion, this is being caused by the tendentiousness with which a number of local mass media organs cover issues concerning interethnic relations and the republic's history and economy, and by intolerance toward any other views. Also bewildering, our reader writes, is the indecisive attitude of some leaders who "do not react to provocative actions by those leaders of the Lithuanian movement for restructuring who take an extremist stance."

Baltsevich concludes his letter expressing a wish addressed to journalists: "It is extremely necessary to ensure that the central press covers events in the Baltic republics from a principled, objective party standpoint, without glossing over sharp corners and weak points, and without false modesty."

Not everything in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's coverage of the situation in Lithuania is to the liking of Lieutenant Colonel Z. Vichis. Nevertheless, the attitude he takes is persuasive by virtue of the constructive suggestions he makes to us. The officer advises us not to forget that "neither 'Sajudis,' nor 'Unity,' nor 'Tkuma,' nor the 'Russian Cultural Center' control and govern the political situation in the Lithuanian SSR, but the Lithuanian Communist Party and the Lithuanian Government, relying on our multiethnic unity." Consequently, a more sensitive, careful attitude should be taken to everything that has been achieved in the republic in the course of restructuring, Z. Vichis emphasizes, suggesting real cooperation with the newspaper in the resolution of these issues.

A number of readers directly request that KRASNAYA ZVEZDA express its own opinion on some items in the local press. In particular V. Gavrilov from Vilnius and B. Rybnikov from Klaypeda both sent us clippings from the republic newspapers of the same article by S.

Kashauskas, entitled "Raynyay," in which a subdivision of the Red Army is made responsible for the humiliation and shooting of prisoners in Telshyay jail in the first days of the war. We would not want to anticipate events as Kashauskas has done. We will wait until the special government commission has completed its work....

Summing up, we would like to say that our newspaper will continue to address the complex, complicated processes taking place in the Baltic, as in other regions of the country. It will address them without betraying objectivity, but taking the standpoint of the consolidation of all healthy restructuring forces, loyalty to the socialist option, and a respectful attitude to others' opinions within the framework of socialist pluralism, which has recently begun to establish itself in the country.

Estonian Language Law Adopted, Program Discussed

LD1801210189 Tallin Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 18 Jan 89

[From the "Echo of the Day" program; correspondent Juhan Virjus report from Estonian Supreme Soviet session in Tallinn]

[Excerpts] The 10th session of the 11th Estonian Supreme Soviet is taking place today. [passage omitted]

The law on language was adopted with 204 votes in favor, 50 deputies voted against and 6 abstained. Correspondent Juhan Virkus was also on Toompea [seat of government] today.

[Virkus] Well, developing languages indeed begins in school. [passage omitted] Education Committee Chairman Vaino Ranjangu, does the material base exist for the implementation of the program adopted here today?

[Rajangu] Well, the program is very serious, as the law on language sets three kinds of tasks: First, with respect to the material base, then with respect to the teaching cadres, and then with respect to methodology being there. All these areas of work need to be strengthened. Of course, one need not start from zero; a certain standard has been attained, but one needs to progress. For this reason Comrade Soydla [first deputy chairman of the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers] said in his speech today that the republican government will also adopt a specific resolution in order to implement the law on language. [passage omitted]

[Virkus] I also spoke backstage here with teachers. They thought that the R300,000-350,000 per year the republican government currently has decided to allocate for the purpose of implementing the law on language will not suffice.

[Rajangu] Undoubtedly it will not, but life always has been mutually dialectical and our wishes always have been greater than our real possibilities. [passage omitted] Motivation already exists at the moment because there are more wishing to learn the language presently—that is, wishing to learn Estonian—than the material base and teaching cadres can cope with. This fact, in itself, demonstrates that a very strong motivation has emerged.

[Virkus] The law on language is designed to be fully implemented within 4 years. [passage omitted]

Tensions in Estonia connected with the discussion about the language law and its adoption were at their highest pitch today. Mikk Titma, secretary of Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, now that the law on language has been adopted, can we say that these tensions are about to subside and that we will be able to breathe calmly again?

[Titma] I would go as far as to say that for Estonians, this law is largely connected with their future dignity. The Estonian people definitely feel themselves considerably more secure now that the law has been adopted. This is as clear as day; hence also our feeling of security. It is certain that the people, on their way to work tomorrow, will already sense that something has happened. Then this feeling of security will transfer itself to the rest of the population. Therefore, if we feel very secure in this land, then this nervousness and tension being experienced by the other side—since, after all, they are the ones who will have to start learning the Estonian langugae quite extensively—will disperse, not only because this question is behind us now, but also because, feeling more secure ourselves, we will behave considerably more humanely toward them, treating them with greater trust because we sense that our will is indeed valid, that we can be masters here in the land of our ancestors.

Of course, the Russian-speaking population will be left with one concern: that of how the law will be implemented. In this respect, as opposed to previous situations, quite a lot of work has been done already. Our Central Committee's direction now is not to start saying, well, what a good law this is and how just it is, but to set the requirement that, first of all, it is in the party line, then in the line of the soviets, then in the whole of the administrative apparatus, and in the services apparatus—as the representatives of corresponding sides said at the Supreme Soviet—on the basis of a specific program, so that a changeover will be effected. So there is no point in going to a post office tomorrow, right away, and demanding that you get service in the Estonian language. However, as a voter, one may demand that the Ministry of Communications and the militia all will begin to communicate with us in the Estonian language, starting next year.

[Virkus] And medical service, shops, and [word indistinct]?

[Titma] Yes, precisely. That is, we have to understand how long it takes and how capable one or another section of the population is of changing over to Estonian. An

understanding attitude on our part also will lead to lowering the fear and this certain sense of danger of the other side. Then a normal atmosphere in communication will ensue. I envisage that, with our traditional, well, peasant-style patience and northern calm, things should go fairly normally and all this kind of high drama is indeed a moment's political flickering and not an in-depth process.

[Virkus] As was also said here today, the law on language is not the only issue in our sovereignty endeavour. We still will have to do an awful lot in order to change the Estonian SSR into a genuinely sovereign entity.

[Titma] Yes, definitely. One must say that in the Soviet Union as a whole, it has been understood that the concept of these sovereign republics is indeed the only path toward insuring the genuine progress of our union. There simply is no other way. This is demonstrated particularly vividly by the party address in connection with the elections, where these questions took a central place, and also by the very clear position of the Ryzhkov commission with respect to republic's self-management and the all-union market being clearly structured into union-republic markets, where economy will begin to develop independently. [passage omitted]

[Virkus] So, today, it was indeed a vigorous step toward sovereignty, was it not?

[Titma] Definitely.

Estonian Leaders Discuss Bill

LD1701185789 Moscow TASS in English 1757 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—By TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov:

Although a news conference at the Estonian permanent mission to the Central Government in Moscow on Tuesday was formally devoted to a draft language bill to be put before the Baltic republic's parliament on Wednesday, the linguistic issue proper was raised only in the 37th minute.

In their opening remarks before that, Estonia's party leaders, statesmen and intellectuals had discussed the political and economic situation back in the republic.

"It is now obvious that the population of the republic is culturally so advanced that no extremist movements can really destabilize the situation," said Mikk Titma, who was elected a Central Committee secretary of the Estonian Communist Party a month ago.

"Moreover," he added, "I can say with utter responsibility that in 1988 there was no gang hooliganism on ethnic grounds".

But he admitted that in conditions where there are different mass movements in Estonia its Communists and leaders have to work "intensively and resolve issues politically," and to "maintain dialogue with these movements and reach compromises".

Answering reporters' questions, Titma said the language bill aims to "lift possible ethnic tensions" as soon as possible in a republic 60 percent of whose population are Estonians and the rest belong to other nationalities.

According to Vladimir Beekman, chairman of the board of Estonia's Union of Writers, "The Estonian language definitely needs legislative protection" so that the use of Russian and Estonian in office work, economic relations and daily life will be "evened out".

Speaking at the same news conference, Ennok Kornel, a deputy head of the Legal Department of the Estonian Parliament's Presidium, voiced the opinion that the provision on the knowledge of Estonian being a mandatory hiring term in the republic should be dropped from the bill as "undemocratic".

Klara Hallik, a senior researcher from the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law, said, for her part, that in various economic and social matters Estonia "has moved further" than other constituent republics in the Soviet Union.

"Therefore on the basis of Estonia's experience one can in a measure forecast the development of processes which are in store for the country as a whole," she added.

'Official Work,' Courts Affected

LD1901011689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2040 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Tallinn, 18 Jan (TASS)—A session of the parliament of this Soviet Baltic republic today ended with the adoption of an Estonian law on language.

From now on the Estonian language will become the language for internal official work in all institutions and at enterprises situated in the territory of Estonia. Furthermore, it will be the language for legal proceedings. Citizens retain the right to a translation of the course of the court proceedings.

In relations between the state and private individuals the law gives the matter the right to conduct correspondence and talks in the language of their choice.

Estonian Central Committee Discusses Candidates
LD1701151289 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 26 Dec 88

[From the "Echo of the Day" program]

[Excerpts] Today nominations have started for USSR candidate people's deputies. In connection with the elections, a discussion took place at the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee. Raul Malk attended on behalf of "Echo of the Day."

[Begin Malk recording] As you know, the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has initiated discussions with our different organizations and movements on the subject of the forthcoming elections. Today's meeting was the second one. It gathered together representatives of a variety of movements with different orientations: the party, trade unions, Komsomol, the Popular Front, the Greens, the Union of Work Collectives, the United Council of Work Collectives, and the others. The discussion was led by Georgiy Aleshin and Mikk Titma.

One essential question was raised immediately at the beginning of the meeting. The assembled groups were asked if they had made a statement, in line with previous discussion, to refute the anti-Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee positions. The representative of the movements replied evasively that he would pass on what had been said. In response, Mikk Titma, secretary of Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee, stated that the activist could remain only in the capacity of an observer. Cooperation is pursued only with those who agree with the overall party platform.

The discussion of over an hour that followed was, in my opinion, not really fruitful, and this seems to have been not only the opinion of an attending journalist. Definitely it was lack of experience which was and will be felt. Elections of a new kind have raised numerous problems. Let us take, for example, the question of candidates of public organizations. We will nominate people from here to be elected into the All-Union Central Committees and boards who are worthy of it in the opinion of the Estonian population. There, of course, some of them will be beaten by All-Union celebrities. In our republic, however, these persons would be certain to win. Hence, there are also specific requirements for the candidates to be nominated by the public organizations.

There are also problems concerning how to ensure simultaneously both democracy in elections as well as the most energetic composition of the deputies to be elected into the Congress of People's Deputies. It should probably contain people who are specialists in economy, law, or in other spheres. Cooperating with different movements and organizations, the Communist Party of Estonia endeavors to find ways to alleviate these contradictions. After deep discussion, it was found that information should be disseminated first and foremost concerning candidates nominated by public organizations. [passage omitted]

The time for the next meeting was not set today. I would still hope for a third meeting. After all, the gathering today probably consisted without exception, of Communists. [end recording]

Estonian Intermovement Meeting Reported
LD1701113089 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 15 Jan 89

["Echo of the Day" program; report by correspondent Raul Malk]

[Excerpts] The inaugural conference of the Tallinn-wide meeting of the Intermovement began at 1100 today in the old House of Political Enlightenment. The first meeting passed relatively peacefully and in a carefully-planned manner. [words indistinct] was heard, the necessary bodies were elected, and a 10-point agenda was adopted. Thereafter, reports were heard about the situation in Tallinn, the draft intermovement declaration, the constitution of the capital's organization, and the draft language law.

Although the manner in which issues were dealt with went generally along the same lines, there was a greater sense of realism than before and an endeavor to find the root causes of the phenomena. (Igor Konovalov), who reviewed the political situation in Tallinn, presented the movement's view that the main trouble in Estonia is the economic difficulties. In the opinion of (?the chairman), the attention of the workers has been artificially diverted from (?reality). Speaking about the draft language law, he did not deny the need to protect the Estonian language, but added the epithet: within reason. According to Igor Konovalov, the majority of the Russian-speaking population in Estonia opposes this. The speaker called for abandoning the adoption of the language law on 18 January. [passage omitted]

The Intermovement has also promised to refrain from demonstrating on 18 January, in response to an appeal of the Union of Work Collectives and of the United Council of Work Collectives. An appeal was made to adopt the language law after the CPSU Central Committee Plenum of Nationality Relations in the summer, with modified (?wording).

Main responsibility for the problems of Estonia was laid upon the leadership of the popular front. [passage omitted] If steps had been taken on 3 December near the Linnahall against the 11th Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee Plenum, reports today would only allude to certain senior leaders. This, too, is a move

toward moderation. Igor Konovalov also pointed to the shortcomings in the Intermovement itself: The lack of political culture, excessive criticism, and other things. The speaker reiterated the proposal, which has appeared in SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA, for conducting talks with the popular front, either directly or through the mediation of the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee. [words indistinct] and did not rule out the possibility of agreement, for example at the rayon level. However, with this promise either of confrontation or conciliation, I believe that the popular front and many others have cause to acquaint themselves thoroughly with the positions of Konovalov, who made the main report.

Yuriy Stepanovskiy spoke about the general declaration of the Intermovement. He complained that the intelligentsia keep away, and it has been necessary to seek help elsewhere. For example, there was a good reception in Moscow, at the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the CPSU Central Committee. The Intermovement being described as campaigners for perestroyka was something new. Up to now they have had the role of defending the pillars. The (?decision) to cooperate with cothinkers in Latvia and Lithuania merits attention. Even ther possibility of creating a union was suggested.

The general political section and economic clauses were introduced into the draft document. It was noted that a list of those who participated in the crimes of the NKVD, [word indistinct] and of the forest brethren must be made public. The draft favors the idea of regional self-management but interpretation of the draft is expected to emanate from Moscow, because everything must proceed from the common national Soviet economic complex. The constitution was a [word indistinct] document, and I believe that an analysis of it may have to wait for a more appropriate time.

Oleg Morozov, who spoke about the draft language law, was more restrained today than on earlier occasions. He proceeded mainly from the article that appeared in last Sunday's IZVESTIYA. It is important to note the repeated allusions to the unreality of the deadlines set, and to the cost of implementing the law. By the way, Morozov was described as the would-be editor of the forthcoming Intermovement's information bulletin. However, I believe that so far it has been the speeches of Morozov himself that have required most editing.

After these reports came the report of the credentials commission; 419 of the 443 elected delegates have been registered. Of the elected delegates, 227 are party members and candidate members, which is over half. According to the social composition, there are 110 workers among those elected, 299 white-collar workers, and 34 pensioners. On this occasion workers were no longer asked to raise their hands as during earlier events. The nationality composition was noted with absolute precision. Of those elected to the forum of the Intermovement, 333 are Russians, 41 Ukrainians, 18 Belorussians, 4 Estonians, and so on.

For my part I would like to add that compared with before, young people could also be seen in the auditorium. Up to now they had hardly been in evidence.

Then speeches followed and the situation changed. One could say that the second act started. There was a representative of the Latvian Interfront delegation among the speakers and (Arnold Tay) of the Tartu cothinkers' union. Tendentious and unchecked assertions were heard as were accusations against popular front leaders and against specific senior republican leaders.

I do not consider it appropriate to dwell at any length on all this. I will only note the appeals for cooperation with the United Council of Work Collectives in the elections. Its representatives did not take the floor today. [passage omitted]

Latvian International Front Viewed

PM1701094389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Jan 89 First Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel M. Ziyeminsh under the rubric "The USSR Is Our Common Home": "International Front: Movement for Restructuring"]

[Text] For 2 days the attention of the inhabitants of the Latvian SSR has been riveted on the Political Enlightenment Center in Riga, from which a direct television broadcast covered the progress of the work of the constituent congress of a new mass public organization—the International Front of Working People of Latvia, whose declared aim is to seek to consolidate all healthy forces which are really acting in the interests of restructuring, the normalization of interethnic relations, and the republic's harmonious development in the economic, social, and spiritual spheres.

The tasks and main avenues of the International Front's activity coincide, in the absolute majority of their provisions, with the program of the Popular Front of Latvia, created 3 months earlier. Nonetheless, the congress asserted, some of the republic's inhabitants disagree with individual methods and means with whose aid the Popular Front of Latvia proposes to resolve some acute economic and social issues.

On the eve of the opening of the constitution congress I acquainted myself with the speech delivered at a plenum of the Central Committee of the republic's Communist Party by M. Lisment, member of the "Banga" fishing kolkhoz.

"New movements and clubs are now being born," he noted. "And they are all meeting with the approval and support of the Popular Front duma. But what is incomprehensible is the fundamentally negative attitude of some comrades toward the creation of the International Front, which is essentially the offspring of the Popular Front of Latvia, but for some reason unwanted by its mother. Or does this repudiation manifest the fear of those who are seeking a monopoly on the formation of public opinion? But we all know that a monopoly is a bad thing. Let time and practical deeds show which movements most accord with the interests of restructuring."

I don't know how other people see it, but to me personally the stance of the Communist Lisment against the background of the restructuring processes taking place in the republic seems the most considered.

Emotions and passions will not return to normal for a long time yet. The opponents of the International Front are casting doubt on the sincerity of the new organization's intentions and its concern for the republic's fate and consequently for the fate of restructuring. Their arguments? They are most varied but often not entirely convincing. "I have the firm conviction," a letter published in a republican newspaper states, "that the International Front has been created artificially with the aid of stagnation forces among members of the Latvian Communist Party and among the economic and other figures of our republic. And perhaps not only the republic."

Other accusations are also unambiguous: The "International Fronters" are promoting the republic's national division (what they have in mind here is obviously the International Front's policy demand to seek to accord the Russian language the status of a state language on an equal footing with Latvian) and are creating deliberately extreme conditions.

So we unfortunately have to note that Latvia's democratic forces have divided into two camps.

It is also a present-day reality that there are operating in the republic small but quite aggressive groups which, speculating on local economic, social, interethnic, and ecological problems, are undertaking vigorous actions to kindle anti-Soviet and separatist sentiments. It is primarily a case of groups like "Helsinki-86" and "the movement for Latvia's national independence." These groups' policy statements call for the gradual elimination of the existing state system, deny its legality, and do not recognize the Latvian working people's actual historic choice in favor of socialism.

But the matter is not restricted to statements. These groups act. It is known from the local press that, in an address to an extraordinary congress of "the association of Latvians of America" held last December, "Helsinki-86" suggests stepping up pressure on the USSR with a view to granting independence to the Baltic republics and seeking to ensure that the question of the Baltic republics' right to sovereignty and freedom is raised at every dialogue of the United States and USSR. Just as obvious is the antisocialist orientation of the "movement for Latvia's national independence," which has declared the Latvian SSR "an illegally formed colony, a colonial-administrative unit which relies on the occupation troops of the USSR, a repressive police apparatus, and a bureaucratic structure."

In this situation many people are asking the reasonable question: Why do the Popular Front activists view this calmly? Should the Popular Front of Latvia not resolutely dissociate itself from such groupings? Especially as these groups are coming out with their "statements" on behalf of the entire Lettish people. And for Communists, including those working in the Popular Front of Latvia, compromises with views of this kind are impossible.

But let's return to the constituent congress of the International Front.

The speeches delivered by the congress delegates (and there were over 700 of them) and by its guests like Professors V. Perevezentsev and G. Popov and the speech delivered by A. Gorbunov, member of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium, had as their leitmotif the following idea: Latvia is an inalienable element of the single national economic complex which has formed in a country whose people do not conceive of themselves outside the community and joint struggle for development, for the solution of the tasks of renewing our common socialist home. It was said that in no circumstances can the republic concentrate only on its purely regional problems, still less seek so-called full economic independence. The congress resolutely expressed itself against separatism and self isolation and confirmed its readiness strictly to observe Lenin's principles of federalism and to seek to improve the national economic complex, in which there are still many shortcomings.

It must, however, be said that the real restructuring of the economic mechanism in the republic is proceeding only slowly. The lease contract is developing at a snail's pace, figuratively speaking, while distortions in the development of cooperative forms of labor organization are substantial. A certain nervousness has been generated in people, especially rural workers, by the priority declared in the republic to agriculture, a priority which has essentially not been backed up by the relevant economic, social, organizational, and other measures. So far advances in improving order and discipline are not very substantial either.

Here, in particular, is where we see the application of the efforts of the newly created International Front. And there are already gratifying examples on this plane: Members of the International Front have voluntarily assumed patronage over, for instance, the cleansing

installations which are being created in Riga, because of whose absence the waters of the Gulf of Riga are in a critical state today. I focus attention on this because the main contingent of the public organization which has been formed consists in fact of workers at the industrial enterprises which have been recognized as those chiefly to blame for the aggravated ecological problems.

Perhaps the hottest debates developed at the congress on those proposals which the government intends to accept to limit the mechanical growth of the republic's population. Many keen and varied opinions also arose around the question of the state language.

Without the constructive activity of the intelligentsia, the delegates noted, any national movement threatens to develop into a nationalist and chauvinist movement. The way out of the situation is the expansion of the training of creative and scientific intelligentsia cadres from among people of nonindigenous nationality. In this connection the proposal to create in the republic a special humanities institute in which teaching would be in Russian was greeted with approval.

I should also like to make the following point. In the process of the formation of the International Front and during the work of the congress you could not fail to notice that here too there are people who stand on extremist positions and try to talk the language of diktat with their opponents.

What the organizers of the constituent congress of the Popular Front of Latvia were once sharply criticized for was essentially repeated at the constituent congress of the International Front. Unfortunately, many ill-considered words were heard from its rostrum. For instance, among the speakers there were even those who termed politically harmful the recent forum of Latvian peoples which essentially became an important step in consolidating the forces of the working people.

We must look the truth in the eye: Henceforth two mass public movements officially exist in the republic. Communists work in both of them. Preventing a split in society—that is the main task which must be resolved today, in order to direct all healthy forces toward consolidation in the struggle for the aims of restructuring. Not toward consolidation at any price, but consolidation on a principled basis, on the basis of truly socialist values.

Preparations for Ukraine Native Language Meeting
AU1801164689 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 14 Jan 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Native Language Society: Preparatory Work"]

[Text] The organizational committee for preparing the constituent conference of the Taras Shevchenko Native Language Society was held recently.

A decision was adopted to hold the conference on 11 February 1989 in the republic's Cinematographers House in Kiev.

The time remaining up to the conference is to be used to actively discuss and further improve the society's draft statutes, to consolidate the associations of admirers of the native language, and to promote constructive cooperation among the groups of supporters of various national languages in the republic.

Turkmen Justice Officials Admit Errors
PM1701130389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 6

[TASS correspondent N. Charykhcheva report: "Public Apologies From Justice Organs"]

[Text] Ashkhabad—Turkmenistan's justice organs have publicly admitted their error: Personnel in the Ministry of Justice, the Supreme Court, the republic prosecutor's office, and Ashkhabad's judicial organs and legal profession have apologized to the innocent victims for illegal criminal proceedings instituted against them.

K. Niyazov, former lawyer at the Krasnovodsk Legal Aid Bureau, was sentenced by Ashkhabad Oblast Court to 4 years in jail for "abetting bribery." In the 5 years since his release he has submitted many applications asking that the case be investigated and his innocence acknowledged, but he was unable to establish the truth for a long time.

A. Kistovich, deputy chairman of the republic Supreme Court, who signed the Turkmen SSR Supreme Court Presidium ruling to the Ashkhabad Oblast Court that in effect predetermined the sentence against the innocent man, has now apologized to him. Judge A. Rakhmanov, who was in his first year of work in the oblast court, made the next mistake.

A. Sharapov, former senior commissioner at Ashkhabad's Sovetskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Department, also found himself in the dock on a petty charge and was sentenced to 1 year of corrective labor—for failing to institute criminal proceedings against a store assistant who cheated a customer out of... 9 kopeks.

The names of those guilty of investigative and judicial errors and of poor supervision by the prosecutor's office have been made public. They include, in particular, T. Shokhin, former Krasnovodsk Oblast prosecutor, and Ye. Novozhilov, Ashkhabad prosecutor. Many people have already received administrative and party penalties. Others are to answer at the Turkmen SSR Prosecutor's Office Collegium and the Ashkhabad party gorkom bureau.

This is the first time republic judicial and investigative personnel have made a public confession.

Zaykov Previews Moscow Party Conference

PM1801114089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow party gorkom, by Yu. Kazmin in Moscow: "Being Always With People"; date not given]

[Text] [Kazmin] Lev Nikolayevich, the last months of 1988 were marked by an acceleration of the capital's political life. This was particularly manifested, in my view, at rayon party conferences and meetings of working people where candidates were nominated for USSR people's deputies. How do you assess the present stage in the life of the capital's party organization; what is it taking to its next conference, which opens on 20 January?

[Zaykov] To single out the most important thing, the crux of the present stage is work to implement the 19th all-union party conference decisions. The capital's Communists and the broadest masses of Muscovites have given warm support to its decisions and become actively involved in the reform of all components of our political system. Naturally, the restructuring of the party itself and the all-around development of intraparty democracy are of fundamental importance here. The reports and elections are convincing evidence of the increased maturity and activeness of the capital's Communists.

First of all let me note the constructive nature of the report and election meetings and rayon party conferences. They gave a concrete, critical analysis of the course of restructuring, and, most important, there was a purposeful discussion everywhere of how to speed up the resolution of concrete problems. And also, there was less empty verbiage. I know of examples where those who tried to sing their own praises were literally "removed" from the platform. And the Communists were acting correctly; we are sick and tired of this old routine. But when people were talking about the business at hand, they listened with interest.

The party organs were formed in a new way. There were contested elections and the preliminary broad and open discussion of reports, draft decisions, and candidacies for election to committees and bureaus and to the rayon and city party conferences. This is the first time that the diverse arsenal of democratic norms and procedures has been so widely used. All these are tangible signs of real changes, of the widening of intraparty democracy.

And as for activeness, many examples could be cited of meetings that began after the working day and ended at around midnight. And attempts to "draw the line" and stop the debates were resolutely rejected by the vast majority. But there are party organizations where they do nothing but talk eloquently about restructuring. If you look at their production affairs, you would be frankly ashamed on behalf of some of the leaders.

Muscovites are gathering new political experience in their everyday working life. Take the preparations for the elections of USSR people's deputies. It is well known that the new legislation has given all state and public organizations and all citizens the broadest democratic rights and opportunities to discuss and nominate the most worthy people as candidate deputies. In my view, the capital's Communists have adopted a mature and responsible approach to the nomination of their party comrades. Some 1,500 meetings were held in the primary organizations, at which more than 100 people were nominated. The Communists named M.S. Gorbachev the first candidate deputy. Among those in whom trust was expressed are representatives of the working class and intelligentsia, and party and soviet workers. In accordance with the procedure laid down, party raykoms, having comprehensively and carefully examined proposals from the "primaries," submitted 22 candidacies for consideration by the gorkom bureau. You probably know from the press that Moscow CPSU Gorkom Bureau, together with representatives of rayon party organizations, settled for six.

The Communists are taking something new to their next party conference, having accumulated some experience of party political and organizational work in the conditions of restructuring. This applies both to the restructuring of party work itself, and to work among the masses to implement the political reform, and to the mastery of new economic management methods. We have begun to see and feel more clearly where we are succeeding and where we have still more work to do. A sober analysis of what has been done, reliance on the working people's support, consultations with them—all this will, I am sure, enable us to discuss the most urgent matters more profoundly at the city conference and formulate in greater detail ways of resolving them.

[Kazmin] The party was the initiator of restructuring. Its cadres today head the most important processes of the renewal of society's political and socioeconomic life. How would you describe the standard of efficiency and maturity of the capital's present party aktiv? What trends have emerged in work with cadres?

[Zaykov] Today cadres at every level are undergoing a severe test imposed by life. In participating in restructuring and implementing it locally they can be said to be learning modern work methods and style as they go along. And I am not inclined to oversimplify or gloss over this process. It is a difficult process. The principles of cadre policy are being changed substantially as we watch. In this context, mention must be made of the crucial significance of the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum, whose decisions were developed and given concrete form by the 19th party conference. The plenum struck a blow against the former practice of

selection and placing of cadres on the basis of the nomenklatura, and discarded many approaches that had been proved useless. And it is surprising that today some of the people who come out particularly actively in defense of restructuring have forgotten this. They go on stubbornly measuring the "nomenklatura" by the old yardsticks and show ignorance of the real state of affairs. In work with cadres a totally new situation is taking shape, where it is not the opinion of the apparatus, but the test of elections that has key significance.

In new conditions party committees must act in a new way too. They must form the cadre reserve openly, not show undue haste in their decisions and assessments, and take the opinion of the labor collectives into account as much as possible. Otherwise it is impossible to work with the modern system of contested elections. And although bureaucracy and formalism have not yet been fully eradicated, the party gorkom and raykoms are striving to select promising new cadres for the reserve and help them prove themselves. We are considering setting up a city school for reserve secretaries of party committees in Moscow. In general I am becoming increasingly convinced of the great potential of the capital's party organization. It has strong cadres.

I often have occasion to visit the rayons of Moscow and enterprises and scientific organizations and to talk with Communists. How many sound proposals they put forward, how penetratingly they assess everything that is happening in the party and society! And surely the delegates to the party conference in one rayon showed political maturity and principle when the question was raised of the ethics of the former CPSU raykom first secretary, who was overzealous in tackling a personal problem of his own. Had he been equally zealous on behalf of the inhabitants of his rayon, it would have been to his credit.

The new processes in political and public life are also updating the work style of the party gorkom. First and foremost this means relying on the support of the "primaries," involving all gorkom members widely in practical work, and drawing up decisions collectively. A desire for harmonious work on a united, collectively formulated platform can be sensed in the members of the gorkom and its apparatus. The spirit of comradeship is asserting itself not in words, but in deeds in the relationships between workers at various levels. What is still lacking is the orientation toward practical results. There is not enough persistence in the fulfillment of our own decisions, not enough selfless effort, not enough understanding that the success of restructuring depends first and foremost on an increased contribution and intensive work by everyone.

[Kazmin] It is well known that the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference put forward as a task for the present day the final renunciation of command and decree methods of work by party organizations. How are the party gorkom and raykoms restructuring their work in this connection?

[Zaykov] First, we are involving gorkom and raykom members more actively in current, day-to-day work. We have found and are still seeking various new forms here. They include participation in the preparation of issues for consideration at bureau sessions and plenums. Then there is concrete work in the localities, in the rayons and primary organizations, to ensure the fulfillment of party decisions. Let me cite just one example. Last year alone the number of visits to party organizations by CPSU gorkom members in connection with various issues doubled. And this at a time when the restructuring of the party apparatus structure was actively in progress.

Second, we are trying to increase the responsibility of members of elected organs through their reports to bureau sessions and plenums on the results of work.

All these measures are aimed at implementing the 19th party conference instructions on widening the social principles of party work, developing intraparty democracy, and subordinating the apparatus to the elected organs.

For the same purpose, we have reorganized the structure of the gorkom apparatus. We have abolished 17 departments, including sector departments. Seven new ones have been formed. And this is not only a matter of reshuffling people, as some malicious critics of ours try to make out, it is a fundamentally new structure. The departments have been formed to fulfill new functions, and the so-called curator system has been entirely eliminated. The new departments will not be the sectors' or enterprises' "guides," but their helpers in defining and implementing strategic tasks by political means.

The gorkom apparatus itself has been reduced by one-third. This is not an end in itself, but a step enabling us to tackle new functions. We now hold gorkom bureau sessions not weekly, but twice a month. Commissions on the main areas of work are soon to be set up at the gorkom. The number of questions examined has been halved and we constantly brief the Muscovites on the bureau's work through MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA. I wish to note that our main newspaper, PRAVDA, has also begun to devote more attention to the life of the capital's party organization.

There is more dynamism in the work of party raykoms. Their influence on the resolution of priority questions in the rayons' life has strengthened markedly. Many new approaches have emerged, reflecting the general process of democratization of party and public life. Plenums and aktiv meetings take the form of free democratic communication, unembellished criticism, and debates on the "trickiest" issues. It has become the practice for raykom members to regularly visit the labor collectives, and the link with primary organizations has strengthened. Tactfulness and the desire to avoid pressure, preaching, or command methods—these are traits of the new work style. let me observe that at rayon conferences, with absolutely no pressure from above, the party raykoms

were 63.4 percent renewed on average, and the bureaus 41.5 percent. Nine party raykom secretaries and five chairmen of control and auditing commissions were elected from between two or more candidates.

In the course of the report and election campaign, the preliminary discussion of candidacies, draft decisions, and theses for reports has been practiced for the first time on such a wide scale. Nonparty people also participated actively in meetings. Participants in rayon conferences approved the restructuring of the party apparatus structure and formed commissions on the most important areas of activity from among the members of CPSU raykoms.

But, to be frank, the restructuring of party work itself is proceeding only slowly so far. Elected leadership organs are not yet exerting sufficient influence on the processes taking place in the city and the rayons. Instances of taking the place of soviet and economic organs and public organizations, and manifestations of bureaucracy have not yet been eradicated.

Much has already been done, we have learned much over these years in the process of restructuring, but the main work still lies ahead. We all still have a lot to learn. We must learn to combine good will toward people with principled exactingness and persistence in achieving the goals set; we must learn political methods of leadership.

[Kazmin] What measures are being adopted to act on the criticisms made by rayon party conference delegates?

[Zaykov] In the course of the rayon conferences some 200 criticisms and proposals were directed to the party gorkom. They cover the most diverse subjects. It was proposed that the gorkom's work style be improved more energetically, that it be more resolute in abandoning command-and-administer methods of leadership, that we shift the center of gravity of our efforts directly to the raykoms and primary organizations. Proposals were put forward for improving selection and admission to the party and removing the secrecy surrounding certain documents. I was pleased, for instance, that the proposals addressed to the gorkom contained considerably fewer appeals on economic issues.

Moscow Gorkom Bureau discussed in depth the results of the rayon conferences. On the basis of the analysis made, gorkom departments were instructed to examine carefully all the delegates' proposals and adopt concrete measures to act on them. Raykoms and primary party organizations will be informed without fail of the fate of all the criticisms and proposals. Work is already under way. Thus the number of documents sent to primary organizations has been reduced and the gorkom now asks for fewer items of documentation, reports of various kinds, and other information. Computer technology is being introduced actively at the gorkom and raykoms.

Many ideas put forward in the course of the rayon party conferences were also taken into account in drawing up the city and rayon "Progress-95" programs. Proposals on changing the practice of selection and admission to the party are being implemented. Already there is a preliminary study of the labor collective's opinion of the individual in the majority of cases. Only after this is the question of admission as a candidate member of the CPSU decided. And that takes place at an open meeting, where nonparty people can express their opinions, too. Moreover the gorkom's methodological council on party work has begun to carry out sociological studies among those accepted as candidate members of the CPSU. The results will be used as the basis for improving selection and admission to the party.

[Kazmin] PRAVDA's Moscow mail contains many critical points on the work of various services in the capital. We recently sent a collection of these letters to the party gorkom. What conclusions are being drawn from the Muscovites' letters?

[Zaykov] This selection of Muscovites' complaints mainly reflects their concern over the ecological situation that is emerging in a number of rayons of the city. People are particularly worried about pollution of the atmosphere by motor transport in the center and by industrial enterprises in Brateyevo and Orekhovo-Borisovo, and pollution of small rivers—the Yauza, Likhoborka, Chermyanka, and Setun. All these are old problems that are still pressing.

The gorkom and Moscow City Soviet were unable to fully ensure the fulfillment of government decisions on the removal of ecologically harmful, nonspecialized enterprises from the capital. Although this question has now gotten off the ground. Thus, whereas under the plan for 1986-1987 it was proposed that 36 enterprises and organizations be removed from Moscow, in fact, taking into account the "arrears" from past years, the Muscovites have gotten rid of 42. And last year another 45 such facilities left Moscow. I consider unacceptable the position of Communists at the USSR State Committee for Forestry, the USSR Gosagroprom, the USSR Ministry of Transport Construction, and other central departments who are delaying the removal from the capital of their own "proteges" that cause direct damage to people's health. The problem is very serious, and this frivolous attitude is simply incomprehensible.

The Moscow City Soviet has now drawn up a system of administrative and economic measures to accelerate this process. We have had enough of compromises. We pin great hopes on the city committee for nature conservation that was set up last year, which is instructed, in conjunction with the public, to closely monitor the ecological situation in the city.

The numerous statements by Muscovites and appeals to the city and central newspapers on ecological matters should be a serious political lesson for the Communists,

especially for those who are directly responsible for this sector of work in Moscow City Soviet and at enterprises and departments.

As for the gorkom's mail, in the period under review we received some 130,000 letters. Nearly 20,000 of these fell directly onto the desks of gorkom secretaries. We have begun to make wider use of such effective levers in our work as the discussion and adoption of concrete decisions arising from letters at bureau sessions and gorkom and raykom plenums.

And if you formulate the question more broadly, then of course the gorkom's links with Muscovites have strengthened considerably and become more diverse in the years of restructuring. Thus, on the eve of the party conference we had a warm, cordial meeting on Staraya Ploshchad with party, war, and labor veterans. At this meeting they put forward many useful instructions and advice for us.

It was largely thanks to these close contacts with the population and at the wish of the city's working people that the Moscow City branch of the Soviet Fund for Charity and Health was set up.

[Kazmin] On the eve of the city party conference, I would like to ask you this question. Basic goods constantly disappear from the store counters. What is the city party organization's view of shortages? Is anyone held responsible for creating shortages?

[Zaykov] PRAVDA has repeatedly raised the problem of shortages in its pages. And that is quite right. But the way you formulate it seems to me to be oversimplified. If you follow that kind of logic, punishing, say, a few leaders would even out supply and demand in the city, while dismissing them from their posts would put an end to shortages entirely. But that is ridiculous. You must punish people. But of course, it is not only a question of punishments and organizational conclusions. The shortages have their roots in the practice that grew up over decades of developing heavy industry at the expense of light and food industry, and also in current contradictions and distortions.

Is it not true that today shortages are created by the desire of certain collectives that have gone over to full economic accountability to curtail the production of cheap goods? We are worried about the trend toward the more rapid growth of wages compared with the growth in production volumes. This increases the disproportion between effective demand and commodity supply. Shortages are also contributed to by those cooperatives that, instead of using secondary raw material, waste products, and produce from kolkhoz markets and farmstead plots, turn to state retail and wholesale trade stocks. All this is exacerbated by the lack of coordination and sometimes patent thriftlessness of officials. On the basis of the facts cited in the article "Time to Use Power" (PRAVDA for 25 December 1988), party proceedings were taken against the culprits by a decision of the gorkom bureau.

But however complex and diverse the causes of shortages, the problem must be resolved. And quickly. Moscow CPSU Gorkom has recommended priorities in this important work. First and foremost, it is necessary to increase the production of consumer goods through the radical modernization of many Moscow enterprises. This is already actively under way. The gorkom set the goal of completing the updating of the capital's dairy industry enterprises by 1991, and meat processing enterprises by 1995. Retooling is needed at 76 of the capital's 108 light industry enterprises.

Special measures are being adopted to increase the production of goods for children and old people. The resolution of this task has been entrusted directly to the recently created subdepartment of Moscow Gorispolkom for the coordination of sector industry and the production of consumer goods. Results should be obtained from ensuring the smooth running of the economic mechanism and economic ties in Moscow's agro-industrial complex. And of course, it is also necessary to ensure proper order in the trade sphere. Here is a disgraceful fact: A spot check on stores just before the new year revealed goods worth R2 million that were hidden away from the sales counters. And that is in spite of the fact that last year more than 2,000 trade workers were subjected to criminal proceedings, far more than in 1987. The efforts of the law enforcement organs must be supplemented by total worker control, as M.S. Gorbachev said to us at a recent meeting at the party gorkom.

[Kazmin] One final question. Of course, at the city party conference there will be a major discussion of party leadership of the socioeconomic development of the capital and implementation of the "Progress-95" program. What are your thoughts on this, Lev Nikolayevich?

[Zaykov] In the last 3 years much has undoubtedly been done in Moscow, and its socioeconomic development has received a powerful boost. But it is also obvious that the basic disproportions have yet to be eradicated. The technical level of production remains low at a huge number of enterprises in the capital, as I saw for myself once again during my recent visit to the Lyublinskiy Foundry and Machine Plant together with N.I. Ryzhkov. We were simply astonished: Foundry production there is decades behind today's standards. In Moscow, scientific and technical achievements are being introduced at only a slow pace, and there are great losses of raw and semifinished materials. We have to know the truth, otherwise it is impossible to make accurate assessments and predictions or choose the right paths.

At the same time a basis exists, and a good one, for the speedy resolution of urgent social and economic problems. In all the main areas that define the prospects for the capital's development, we have received weighty support from the party Central Committee and the government. Virtually all the ministries and departments will help Moscow. Substantial resources have been allocated by the USSR Council of Ministers to boost the capital's health care system and tackle the housing problem. The main thing now is to use these resources sensibly.

A citywide, systematic approach involving all sectors permeates the "Progress-95" program you asked about, which was drawn up on the initiative of the party gorkom. Thanks to this program, the reorientation of the economy in the interests of people and the harmonious development of the entire, highly complex infrastructure of the city will be ensured in practice, first and foremost on the basis of the dynamic introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress into the basic sector—machine building. It was also of fundamental importance to us that from the outset the drafting of the program took place by democratic means, taking into account the opinions and needs of the labor collectives themselves. This resulted in a new type of program without parallels in terms of its methodological base and testing in practice. Territorial and sector interests are to be combined not along the "Gosplan to ministry" route, but along the "enterprise to rayon to city" route. This will be a solid base for the transition to economic accountability principles in the rayons and the city as a whole.

I wish to say in conclusion that the pace of our progress is determined by the degree of responsibility, autonomy, democratization, and initiative. Deepening these is a task of paramount importance. I am sure the forthcoming Moscow City CPSU organization conference will be a major event along this path.

Kamchatka Oblast Introduces Local TV Show

OW1801083989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1900 GMT 17 Jan 89

[V. Lazarchuk video report on the "Kamchatskiy Utrenniy Videokanal" program introduced in Kamchatka Oblast; from the "120 Minutes" program]

[Text] The people of Kamchatka are the first to begin the new day and they are the first to turn on their television receivers and watch our program. Now our 120 Minutes program has some competition. The new program of Oblast Television called Kamchatskiy Videokanal will be shown for 2 hours in the morning. Today this program is our guest. [Video shows Lazarchuk in a studio with a logo bearing the word "Kamchatka" on the wall.]

[Begin recording] [Lazarchuk] Good morning, respected fellow residents of Kamchatka. Today, for the first time, our greeting is addressed not only to people living in Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy and Yelizevo, but also to all people of the peninsula.

On the New Year, Kamchatka communications workers made an effort and ensured the reception and transmission of the local television center by all Orbita stations of the oblast. So now we will meet regularly, three times a week, from 0700 to 0800 [1900 to 2000 GMT] over the Second All-Union program [the "Double-1" version of the Moscow Television second program].

And so, as of the New Year, Oblast Television broadcasting began in Kamchatka. [Video shows a studio, street scenes, a hilltop antenna.] This event will also be remembered by television workers because at the same time they marked a housewarming in their new editorial office building. Speaking frankly, however, this well-appointed and comfortable building did not give journalists any inspiration because all technical facilities remained in the old buildings, a long way away on Nikolskaya Hill. Construction of the equipment and studio complex has been frozen for 6 months now. [Video shows a construction site, earth-moving equipment covered by snow]. In a word, we have a cart without a horse.

Frankly, the situation is not too good, particularly since we have the bitter experience of a project that has dragged on for years—the Khabarovsk radio center—whose 25th anniversary will be marked this year. Could it be that we will take up where the Khabarovsk people left off? [Video shows Lazarchuk interviewing V.V. Korotkikh, (?oblast) television and radio committee chairman.]

[Korotkikh] Frankly speaking, we have no such fears at the present, although one can never tell. But we enjoy complete mutual understanding with our construction workers. Another major construction project has begun in Palana, in the okrug center. A studio will also be opened there by 1995 and it will broadcast to the Koryak Autonomous Okrug for 30 minutes daily. [end recording]

More on Komsomol's Supreme Soviet Candidates

LD1301162589 Moscow TASS in English 1607 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—This is the first time in the history of the Lenin Young Communist League of the USSR, which has a membership of 38 million young people, that it will be represented in the supreme legislative organ of the USSR. In keeping with the recent amendments to the USSR Constitution and the new electoral law, it has received the right to elect 75 representatives who will uphold the interests of Soviet young people at state level. Nomination of candidates for the forthcoming elections to the Supreme Soviet of the

USSR, to be held on March 26, was the main item on the agenda of the YCL CC plenum, which opened in Moscow today. The YCL Central Committee limited itself to the role of consultant in the conduct of the election campaign and observer over compliance with the electoral law in force. All the other questions were decided by local Komsomol organizations themselves.

The plenum is to discuss 207 candidatures, recommended by YCL organizations. They include factory and farm workers, students, men of cultural, servicemen, mostly members of primary Komsomol organizations.

The programmes submitted by every potential candidate for the plenum's consideration will be used to draw up a single YCL elections platform. This will allow the YCL to take maximum account of the young generation's most diverse requirements.

"Any member of the YCL not younger than 21 (this is the age necessary to become a people's deputy of the USSR), who has his own programme, has the right to be nominated candidate to the supreme legislative organ. He must enjoy without fail the support of the YCL organization at his place of domicile or work", a TASS correspondent was told by the secretary of the YCL elections commission Viktor Markov, the only "nomin-clature" functionary of the central YCL apparatus included in it. The other twelve commission members are YCLers employed at enterprises and state institutions.

Importance of 'Democratic' Campaigning Stressed

PM1801164188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by I. Korolkov under the rubric "Elections of USSR People's Deputies": "Because We Think So... That Was What the Rayispolkom Told Voters, and the Meeting Was Closed"]

[Text] The spirit of renewal can be sensed in the capital's political life. The approach to the nomination of candidate deputies is, as a rule, mature, responsible, and democratic. For the first time the public has been included in the election campaign. They are not nominated "from above," as before, but motivated by a sense of civic duty. Students, housewives, engineers, workers, and scientists have been setting up action groups to help citizens exercise their electoral rights: to organize the nomination of candidates for people's deputy in their places of residence. Youth action groups have already appeared in 26 Moscow electoral okrugs.

It was impossible to imagine anything like this just a short while ago. But now the groups are beginning work. Cooperation with them is most successful in those rayons where close contacts were recently established with citizens' informal public associations. In Sevastopolskiy and Cheremushkinskiy Rayons, for example.

But people are not happy with their voluntary helpers everywhere. It would be strange if the administrative and bureaucratic system, which for decades selected and sometimes imposed deputies on electors, were to react calmly to this civic initiative which, it must be said, is not always predictable. Even today, the inbuilt rejection mechanism is working perfectly in many places. At the Lyublinskiy Rayispolkom, for example, they allowed the action group to hold a residential district electors' meeting but at the same time cited the Decree of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and ruled that... the voters' representation norm for that meeting was 1 person for 175 residents.

I phoned A. Filatov, a member of the okrug electoral commission and secretary of Lyublinskiy Rayispolkom, and asked him to explain this decision.

"No one has revoked the decree," A. Filatov said, "and we are obliged to carry it out."

"But a Law on Elections has only just been adopted which makes no mention of any representation norm."

A. Filatov stood his ground: "The decree governs the law." How an old decree can govern a law which appeared just 6 weeks ago remains a mystery to me.

And here is how they reacted at Kirovskiy Rayispolkom to an action group's request to hold a meeting for the nomination of candidates. Ispolkom Secretary V. Solovyeva initially demanded the names of the proposed candidates. Next their telephone numbers, then their manifestos. Finally the meeting was refused.

We met with V. Solovyeva.

"We learned," Vera Timofeyevna said, "that the action group wanted to nominate Aleksandr Lyubimov, one of the leaders of the 'Vzglyad' program; Gavriil Popov, an economist; and the writer Sergey Zalygin, chief editor of NOVYY MIR, as candidate deputies. They neither live nor work in the rayon, are not interested in its problems, and have shown no initiative in helping the rayon. Even now, when people wanted to nominate them as candidates, they were unwilling to come to our ispolkom—they didn't even phone or ask how they could help the rayon if elected."

I leave it to the readers to judge the argument put forward against three proposed candidates: None of them has made his civic position known to the voters of Kirovskiy Rayon, apparently. But that's not all. Vera Timofeyevna was keeping in reserve the kind of argument which simply makes you shrug in despair.

"Three people had signed the application to hold a meeting," V. Solovyeva said. "Does that mean that we should hold a meeting just for those three? The population of our rayon is 600,000. Supposing everyone comes along and demands: 'Let us hold a meeting'! We simply will not physically be able to do it."

"And how many applications have you received today, 11 January?" I asked.

Just two, apparently.

Eventually Vera Timofeyevna produced her last and most substantial argument. A simple and categorical one: Because we think so. And that's that.

Surely now, when the most important part of the political reform, the preparation for the elections of people's deputies, is being carried out, everything possible must be done to ensure that the most authoritative people, capable of defending their own viewpoint and ready to defend the interests of a society undergoing renewal, are elected to the supreme organ of state power, the utmost account taken of voters' wishes, and the most favorable conditions created for the nomination of candidates and the examination of their programs. Instead of which some ispolkom prohibitions even treat obstacles as prohibitions. Obsolete instructions contrary to the Law on Elections are dragged out.

Pre-election campaigning and the actual elections of people's deputies produce a special state in society which elevates millions of people above their everyday lives and involves them in politics. With good reason, even the Criminal Code protects the free expression of the will of citizens electing the supreme state power.

But a journalist's impressions are not a specialist's viewpoint. And in a case such as pre-election campaigning, held in new conditions, furthermore, it is very important to be accurate. Therefore, let us turn to the Central Electoral's Commission legal group. Here is how Ye. Koveshnikov, the group's leader, commented on the two incidents.

"In Lyublinskiy Rayon they are completely wrong to establish a representation norm. That means that the members of an action group must hold meetings with 87,500 residents in order to send the required 500 people to the general meeting. Therefore, the ispolkom is demanding the convening not of a meeting, as the law says, but a conference of representatives. The way in which candidates are nominated is clearly set out in Article 37 of the Law on Elections. The establishment of norms, as has happened in Lyublino, in view of the 1-month deadline for the nomination of candidates, is nothing more than an attempt to limit citizens' initiative. Furthermore, the members of the okrug electoral commission and the ispolkom personnel are simply supposed to know that the Law on Elections has gone into operation: Citing obsolete instructions is equivalent to obstructing the democratic holding of election campaigning. No regulatory documents adopted before the Law on Elections should contradict either its spirit or its letter.

"Now for the second situation. The action group members are rightly indignant at the actions of the comrades from Kirovskiy Rayispolkom. No one has the right to demand the names of the proposed candidates before the holding of their nomination meeting. All this can be done at the meeting itself. In this case Kirovskiy Rayispolkom assumed the function of a kind of filter and decided on behalf of the okrug's residents a matter which they alone have the right to decide. As for the nomination of candidates who do not live or work in the electoral okrug, the law does not debar them. If the residents want to nominate people whom they think will represent society's interests fittingly enough, that is their legal right. And the local soviets must help them exercise that right."

[Korolkov] "Yevgeniy Mikhaylovich, action group members have been phoning the editorial office to ask: Does the well-known decree on rallies and demonstrations not conflict with pre-election campaigning? The law allows 1 month for the nomination of candidate deputies. But to hold any meeting you have to apply 10 days in advance. I share the viewpoint of the action groups: To uphold that rule today is to contradict the process of the democratic nomination of candidate deputies."

[Koveshnikov] "Of course it is. You cannot regulate everything to such an extent. The decree exists, but it was not meant for election campaigning."

[Korolkov] "But what about this situation? A man puts himself forward as a candidate. He goes to the plant gates or, for example, a bus stop, and begins campaigning for people's support. A group gathers. How will this be regarded—as an unauthorized rally? Or suppose an action group has pinned a candidate's election program on a notice board. People gather round, read it, and discuss it. Is that an unauthorized rally, too? Here is another situation. Several people are standing at the exit of a subway station distributing leaflets supporting the nomination of, say, Sidorov, as a candidate. Can the militia halt these actions?"

[Koveshnikov] "Article 47 of the Law on Elections says: Pre-election agitation begins after a person has been nominated and registered as a candidate deputy. It also says that a candidate has the right to meet with the voters at meetings and in any other form which is convenient for the voters: by the factory gates, at a bus stop—wherever, so long as this does not interfere with the movement of traffic or pedestrians. They can distribute and paste up leaflets. If people begin a discussion in front of the program in question, that should not give rise to

coercive measures from the law enforcement organs. The Law on Elections operates during the pre-election campaigning and it alone. It is necessary to be guided by that..."

Democratic Clubs Pursue 'Mature' Activities
PM1801162689 Paris LIBERATION in French 30 Dec 88 p 5

[Article by Leonid Volkov, member of the Democratic Restructuring Club: "Restructuring in the Clubs"]

[Text] The word "dialogue" disappeared from the Russian language and Russian political practice 70 years ago. Millions of people replaced it with the new watchwords—"enemy of the people," "dictatorship of the proletariat," and "party."

In the sixties and seventies, the "dictatorship of the proletariat" was replaced by "real socialism" and "the state of the whole people." The "enemies of the people" were the "dissidents"—that handful of solitary heroes who suddenly discovered that socialism was not real or that the real situation was not socialist. Any attempt to communicate this discovery to the general public inevitably ended behind barbed wire. But now thousands of people in Moscow, Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Saratov, Ryazan, and elsewhere are meeting openly, taking to the streets, and loudly saying what they could not even think in the past. What does this sudden change mean? Is it a political farce, sham democracy, or a staged performance like the ones which took place in the past when government trucks brought in consignments of inkwells to be used by demonstrators in "civilian dress" playing the role of angry school students who used them to bombard certain embassies of the "capitalist lackeys"? Many people abroad think that this is merely another Potemkin village [village specially sanitized to impress important visitors] intended to deceive the West. This view is also widespread in the USSR: Less than a year ago I heard the same thing said by a former general who took a civilian job in the ideology department.

But energetic young people are talking differently: "We decide our own policy," they say, "and it is for our own purposes that we are having dialogue with the government and with the people." These are the leaders of a democratic movement which has no precedent in our recent past: "Our objective," they say, "is not to overthrow the government nor to oust Gorbachev, but to support restructuring. Nonetheless, we intend to do so ourselves, with our own hands and our own heads."

It would be wrong to think that there are no dangers or obstacles surrounding this sudden flurry of political initiatives. It is necessary to fight each time you want to hire a meeting hall and each time you want to obtain permission to demonstrate. Each time you are successful, you wonder whether it will be the last. Since the July decrees, anybody who takes to the streets with placards or speeches is even more likely than before to be arrested. Of course, in the past such a person would have received a 15 year sentence and now courts sometimes even acquit demonstrators, but they are usually beaten up and given 2 weeks in prison and/or a heavy fine.

It is interesting that during the attempted demonstration in August 1988 to mark the 20th anniversary of Brezhnev's move to crush the Prague Spring, the men in the new riot units shouted as they beat the demonstrators: "That will teach you to read too much Gorbachev." I do not know what those policemen read, but it is rumored that officers have passed round pamphlets from the fascist organization Pamyat in their units.

With regard to the members of the democratic clubs, they read Gorbachev but they also read many other authors, as is demonstrated by the bills or alternative reform programs drawn up by some of them. Aside from a sound knowledge of authentic Marxism, these texts also reflect familiarity with Western political and economic thinking.

In addition, the most serious clubs are headed by brilliant young research workers who specilize in social sciences, such as Oleg Rumyantsev, Aleksandr Fadin, Pavel Kudyukin, Boris Kagarlitskiy, Stanislav Stankevich.... Meetings of some clubs, notably the Democratic Restructuring Club, are also being attended by big names in scientific research like Tatyana Zaslavskaya, Yevgeniy Ambartsumov, Yegor Afanasyev, Ivan Klyamkin, and Lev Gordon.

Moreover, the radical faction of the academic establishment (including Sakharov, Afanasyev, Sergey Kaputikyan, and Mikhail Gefter) has just set up its own political club—the Moscow Tribune. At first its members thought they could exist as a committee of experts, discreetly doing studies for the government and not taking public initiatives. It too is now drawing up appeals and projects as alternatives to the government's projects, as the other clubs are doing.

The club movement has also developed rapidly. After the euphoria of the new-found freedom of speech and the initial torrent of words, the clubs started to change—not without internal conflicts—turning to more mature political activity.

The Democratic Restructuring Club was one of the pioneers of this development, drawing up a series of political and economic reforms. This document, later called the Democratic Program, comprised the plan to turn Soviet institutions into a pluralist system based on real dialogue between the state and party and the independent political organizations.

The plan was widely distributed in democratic circles and communicated to the Soviet media and to government bodies. That was the approach which led to the drafting of the Social Program adopted as a charter by the Moscow clubs meeting in summer 1988 to create the

capital's People's Front. At that meeting, which had an unusually high number of participants, speakers openly condemned Politburo members Ligachev and Chebrikov without being punished for it.

In the following phase of development, leading clubs like Democratic Restructuring, Socialist Initiative, or People's Action, began to organize protest demonstrations and the reasoned criticism of government decrees or initiatives. The debate focused on the national question and, in particular, on the Nagorno-Karabakh question, on the attempt by conservatives in the fall to limit subscriptions to liberal newspapers (on the pretext of fair distribution of paper among newspapers), on the changes to the Constitution, or ecological problems.

These clubs organized a petition to support their alternative projects, meetings with Supreme Soviet deputies and so forth. These campaigns at least had the merit of creating a precedent for public dialogue with the population—a dialogue which is as necessary for restructuring as dialogue with the government.

In short, thanks to these clubs, the Soviets are learning to be citizens and are being initiated into independence, critical thought, and autonomous action. They are learning to take political risks and defend their positions in public, alone or collectively.

The clubs' new objective in the present period is to find an electoral outlet for their action. They are facing the forthcoming election campaign in March in legal conditions which are certainly largely unfavorable to them but they are determined to make their voice heard.

*Academician Zaslavskaya on Restructuring

WA18000320a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Dec 88 p 3

[Article under the rubric "Point of View": "Restructuring as Social Revolution: Academician Tatyana Zaslavskaya Answers Readers' Questions"]

[Text] **After IZVESTIYA published the interview with Academician T. I. Zaslavskaya, entitled "Fundamental Question of Restructuring" (No 126), more than 1500 letters addressed to her were delivered to our office. In the interview it was stated that the main question that has to be resolved by restructuring is the question of returning full powers to the soviets. Today's answers given by Academician T. Zaslavskaya to readers' questions are, as always, uncompromisingly sharp, and probably not many people will share her judgments. Nevertheless we, as always, are ready to publicize the most diverse points of view.**

"The purpose of the reforms that are being carried out in the process of restructuring is, as you call it, social revolution. Why do you call it that?", asks V. Antipova from Omsk. This problem also concerns readers B. Tyurin from Volgodrad and V. Yeremeyev from Tambov, who accept that definition, as well as I. Ignatenko from Rovno and I. Sudarkina from Kamensk, who do not agree and who ask for detailed explanations.

[Zaslavskaya:] Restructuring can be called a revolution by virtue of the radical nature of the goals set by it and by the means required to achieve them. The situation in which it began, in essence, was a prerevolutionary situation—the "lower masses" did not want to work and they refused to work efficiently, and the "upper crust" was no longer able to force them to. Society had entered a crisis situation, the country was lagging behind the world level in the scientific-technical and socioeconomic areas, and had slipped to the side of the road in world progress. Naturally, that was leading to an increase in the dissatisfaction felt by the masses, a dissatisfaction that was expressed in increasingly acute forms.

As a result, life itself presented us with the choice: either return to frankly repressive methods that rather clearly demonstrated their ineffectiveness, or carry out a fundamental reform of all social relations—or, putting it in another way, do precisely what we now call restructuring. Restructuring that is revolutionary in its social content is a "categorical imperative" given to us by history.

From my point of view, restructuring is a change not so much in the level of development, as it is in the type of trajectory along which society was moving. Its essence lies in rejecting the course that had led the country to stagnation. It is the changeover to the path of the dynamic, consistent development on the basis of scientific-technical and socioeconomic progress.

The necessity for a fundamental change in the trajectory of development attests to the fact that the previous trajectory had been selected erroneously, and had proven to be ineffective. This obliges us to give a complete critical evaluation to the segment of the path that had been previously traveled. Today it is already insufficient to explain to the nation that it had been led "to the wrong goal." It is necessary to answer the question "where was it being led?" and to determine specifically in what direction society had been moving during the past decades and specifically what social system had been forming in it at a particular stage of development.

The deviation of the actual development of Soviet society from the trajectory that had been planned by Lenin began in the middle of the 1920's, and apparently reached its apogee in the middle of the 1930's. That was the time of our "Thermidor"—of the anti-Leninist overthrow carried out by Stalin. Many decades have passed since then, but the deadening breathing of the Stalin era, I think, will continue to be felt for a long time in many spheres of our social life, beginning with the economy and ending with culture. Three and a half years of the most difficult restructuring give us complete grounds for asserting: over a period of many years we will be

required literally to squeeze out of us, "drop by drop," the elements of the Stalin era, transforming in a revolutionary way those relations that bear its imprint.

Revolution means a substantial change in the structure of political power.

At the present time we are dealing specifically with this. The decisions of the 19th Party Conference mean the redistribution of a considerable number of authoritative powers: from the party agencies to the state agencies; from the executive agencies to the representative ones; from the central agencies to the republic-level and local ones. This redistribution will make it possible to overcome the excessive concentration of political (and, correspondingly, economic) power. Rather considerable powers will be given to the basic social groups: the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia.

A. Parkhomova from Mozyr asks: "What are the different classes that we have now? Is it possible that a new class has appeared in the person of the apparatchiks and bureaucrats?" and this "special segment" is also mentioned by A. Mikhaylov from Gomel, Ya. Yuryev from Kaluga, and A. Tomashevskiy from Gorkiy. "Is it correct to call the bureaucracy—or, to state it another way, a social segment of workers in the nomenklatura—a class?", L. Vasilyev from Minsk asks outright.

[Zaslavskaya] In general, this segment conforms to the three basic features of a class that were mentioned by Lenin. It has a special relationship to the means of production (it possesses almost unlimited rights for disposing of them); it occupies a special place in the organization of social labor (it administers it); and it differs from the rest of the population by its share and sources of the received part of the social wealth. But these attributes do not exhaust the concepts of a class. One of the important peculiarities of the class structure, according to Lenin, was the economic exploitation of some social classes by others. What we have recently learned about the structure and functioning of our society during the Stalin and Brezhnev eras, it seems to me, provides grounds for speaking at least about the indirect exploitation by the nomenklatura segment of the remaining mass of the population. (I especially want to emphasize that I am speaking precisely about a segment.) But even if one considers that this segment did not have time to become finally converted into a class, it in any instance was moving confidently in that direction. I think that this question deserves special economic and sociological research.

It is extremely noteworthy that the people's awareness does not oppose the kolkhoz members to the workers or the workers engaged in physical labor to the intellectuals, but primarily opposes the "administered" to the "administrators."

The nomenklatura system of forming responsible cadres in the apparatus, a system that was criticized at the 19th Party Conference, has by no means yielded its positions. Moreover, the impression is created that the apparatus at many departments is, practically speaking, not decreasing, but simply seems to be "percolating" downward—to the subordinate administrative levels (and not infrequently they are specially created to accommodate the people who have been removed "on top"). But nevertheless there have been achievements in this area. Because the laws that are currently being enacted, and those that are being developed, are intended to disband the special segment and to assure that that segment cannot subsequently consolidate itself.

"What is the generic name that we should give to this social revolution? Because we have already had a socialist revolution," A. Klementyev writes from Sverdlovsk. A similar question is asked in the letter from B. Andreponov, from Solikamsk: "How does one characterize the new revolution in class terms?"

[Zaslavskaya] For me there is no doubt that this is the second revolution of a socialist type. This is completely correct and is historically substantiated. The transition from the feudal system to the capitalist system also occurred not instantaneously, but lasted many decades. Certain countries have experienced several bourgeois revolutions.

L. Koloskov from Baku and A. Akopov from Rostov write that it is necessary to understand clearly everything that occurred under L. Brezhnev. Sergey Kazakov from Tambov wants to know how correctly we understand our past: "Where are all of us going? It is here—in this direction—that today's questions actually begin." "Never before has there been such a burning interest as we have now in the events of history. What stands behind that interest?", M. Aksakov from Arkhangelsk wants to know.

[Zaslavskaya] The interest is evoked by the need to interpret realistically the path that has been traveled. It is impossible to move ahead without knowing at what position the restructuring began, what "starting gate" it left. And this is necessary most of all in order to maintain the goal more firmly, without losing sight of the prospects for the development of society, without being tempted by complacency after the first steps. Let us begin by analyzing the socioeconomic type of society that formed during the Stalin era.

The levers of antidemocratic and antisocialistic administration were "applied" by Stalin to a society that had already had time to take the first steps toward socialism. Starting in the late 1920's and the early 1930's, some of the mechanisms for the reproduction of the prosocialistic relations continued to operate, but others broke down and degenerated. As a result, a complicated clump of social relations developed, the forms of which most frequently contradicted the content. That was one of the reasons for the formation of the false social awareness

that still reflected the high goal of revolution and that fed the enthusiasm of the masses. But even now it is by no means simple to define what kind of social organism that had been, an organism in which there was a capricious intermingling of elements of a society making the transition from capitalism to socialism, of Asiatic despotism, state-monopoly capitalism, and perhaps also other types of societies.

The thesis of the construction in our country of socialism in the mid-1930's was promoted by Stalin primarily for the purpose of camouflaging the events that were actually occurring. It was not scientifically well-argumented, and it attested only to the cynicism of the person who promoted it. The same thing must be said about the proclaiming of "developed socialism" in the middle of the 1970's.

Therefore what was needed was a fundamental change in the trajectory of social development. It seems to me that the social essence of restructuring lies in the re-establishment of Leninist positions, in guaranteeing the successive movement along the Leninist trajectory of the building of democratic socialism.

"If, by restructuring, one understands social revolution," K. Bagdasarov from Ashkhabad writes, "then from what and to what should we change over now?" And F. Trunova from Kharkov asks, "How can one define the present-day stage in the development of our society?"

[Zaslavskaya] I would define today's phase, at best, as the building of socialism "basically." Because many of the fundamental features of socialism that were mentioned in the CPSU Program have not yet been implemented, and their attainment will require a long path still. Self-delusion in this question is fraught with fundamental errors of administration, and correspondingly with its low effectiveness. However, by no means everyone has understood the circumstance that restructuring (which, for the time being, is occurring in the reformist version), on the basis of its final goals, is oriented toward the radical acceleration of the movement precisely toward socialism. Its task is to guarantee that regrouping of social forces, that redistribution of power, rights, freedoms, and social wealth among the various segments and groups, that will provide a reliable achievement by society of the path of renewing socialism. Having resolved those tasks, restructuring justifies its right to be called a social revolution.

"How does one eliminate the basic mechanisms that have been inhibiting restructuring?" is the question asked by A. Seleznev and other boiler room workers from Shegarskiy Rayon, Tomsk Oblast. "What measures to develop restructuring do you consider to be necessary?", asks S. Muratov from Panevezhis.

[Zaslavskaya] The essence and tasks of converting restructuring into a social revolution consist in providing the broadest participation of the nation. And the final effect of restructuring is determined primarily by the position of the mass social groups.

The situation is complicated by the fact that a certain kind of closed cycle has been created. In order to increase the effectiveness of the reforms and thus to improve people's condition, it is necessary for the masses to participate actively in restructuring. But in order to increase their rate of participation, the masses must be convinced in a practical way that their condition is being improved. What is the way out of this cycle? In the democratization of social relations, in the further development of glasnost.

It seems obvious to me that we need complete openness in social life, we need to provide people with all types of information, we need the collective discussion of acute questions with the aid of the press and television, and the revelation of all the administrative "secrets" that are of interest to the people.

For the time being, glasnost has not become complete, although it is building up speed, going deeper, and encompassing new areas. As a result, various social forces are gradually consolidating and organizing, are gaining a clear awareness of their interests, and are defending them more actively. There has been a tangible increase in the participation rate of the masses. Tens of thousands of informal organizations and movements are arising and beginning to operate. Many of them are already taking on political coloration. In the Baltic republics, RSFSR, Moscow, Leningrad, and a number of other cities, People's Fronts to promote restructuring are being created. These fronts are developing extensive programs that also include political nuances. Rallies, marches, and demonstrations are taking on unprecedented frequency and an increasingly mass nature. There has been broad discussion of problems that previously festered within the social organism—national, ecolological, and social ones.

Unfortunately, in the struggle to express their interests, certain groups of workers have begun to use extremist means (strikes, hunger strikes, and there have even been instances of self-immolation). This is a situation that is new for our society, a situation that indicates the increase in the social and political participation of the masses and their striving for independent actions, their striving to take direct part in social life. Many social movements in support of restructuring have an even more radical more than the government has. They criticize the activities of the authorities "from the left"—balancing, to a certain degree, the conservative criticism "from the right." Although, for the time being, these movements are taking only their first steps, they already represent a force that must be taken into consideration.

The systematic increase in the mass nature, the increase in the sociopolitical maturity, and the firmness of the fundamental positions of these movements, in my opinion, attest to the fact that the initiative of the political leaders with respect to the restructuring of social relations at a definite stage can be not only picked up, but can also be "intercepted" by the broad public, by the advanced workers, intellectuals, and peasants.

In this sense the functions of political management will not become simpler, but, rather, will become more complicated. They will include many things—the development of the restructuring strategy; its implementation by means of the promulgation of the appropriate laws and decrees; the sustaining of a self-interested dialogue with the independent social organizations; and the monitoring of their activities with the purpose of channeling them into areas that conform to social interests.

"Any revolution is a difficult period in the life of states. Doesn't ours carry a threat of new bloodlettings?", S. Mikheyev from Khabarovsk writes. The letter sent by R. Vartanov from Yerevan is even more alarming: "...we have had enough of 'revolutions' with all the inevitable 'enemies.' Let's rid the long-suffering Soviet nation of the class struggle... because all of this ends up with the cold and hunger that have been experienced by us so frequently..."

[Zaslavskaya] Many people ask whether there is some kind of danger concealed behind the very word "revolution." From my point of view, there is no danger concealed there, because the history of mankind also knows of relatively peaceful, bloodless revolutions. There are a number of considerations that speak in favor of the assumption that revolutionary restructuring can also be peaceful.

First of all, one can certainly say that not a single social group has a self-interest in having restructuring take on dangerous violent forms. The very fact that the initiative for revolutionary restructuring comes "from the top" precludes the necessity of any armed seizure of power by the revolutionary masses.

The currently existing concentration of power, rights, and privileges in the hands of the apparatus at the executive agencies of power is of an anticonstitutional nature. Consequently, the task of the revolution lies not in a fundamental change of the country's Basic Law, but only in putting the political practice into conformity with the existing Constitution and the laws that develop it. Finally, the nomenklatura segment, which must be put into a place that conforms to its formal status, does not enjoy the nation's social support. And if the workers occupy a decisive position in this question, the bureaucracy will be forced to yield.

At the same time it is, in my opinion, dangerous to underestimate the possibility that acute political, social, and national conflicts may arise. The buildup of social tension is obvious. Its centers are located not only in the Baltic and trans-Caucasian republics, but also in a number of major cities in Russia: Sverdlovsk, Kazan, Ufa, Irkutsk.

The very first steps of democratization that were expressed in the expansion of glasnost and of human rights and freedoms have given rise not only to democratic groups, but also to chauvinistic, nationalistic, antisocialistic, and even fascist groups. Their organizers call upon people to engage in violence and they have been doing so in a practical way, causing tremendous psychological harm to restructuring. The development of such situations is similar to letting a dangerous genie out of a bottle.

Lying at their basis, it seems to me, are the low level of political culture; the lack in the country of any prolonged democratic traditions; the insufficient maturity of social awareness; the contamination of that awareness by a large number of prejudices and dogmas; the lack of formation and the lack of competency of public opinion; and the low level of morality in many people.

The spiritual decay has penetrated to an exceptional depth. In the social awareness of certain groups, there has been a loss of differentiation between good and evil, charity and cruelty, humaneness and the alienation of people from one another. Overcoming these phenomena will require not only the exertion of large efforts, but also time.

For the time being, however, it is necessary to proceed from the situation that exists. It requires party and state monitoring of the activities of various social movements, and their preservation of their constitutional nature. I feel that at the present time it is necessary to have a policy that would provide for an intelligent compromise between the further growth of the political participation of the masses, on the one hand, and the preservation of public order and the prevention of violent forms of resolving conflicts, on the other.

The tasks that are linked with restructuring are extremely complicated. The path of restructuring runs through a large number of obstacles, with the resolution of some problems frequently giving rise to new, more complicated ones. Therefore the carrying out of restructuring requires well thought-out strategy. But no one will give any special time to develop that strategy, so that this will have to be done simultaneously with the making of current decisions dealing with completely concrete questions. This is by bo means an easy situation, especially if one considers the highly dynamic nature of the processes that have been occurring. But we must keep moving forward. Our fate lies on that path.

Volkov Views Growing Pluralism in USSR

PM1301154489 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 5 Jan 89 p 2

[Interview with political scientist Leonid Volkov by Bruno Schacherl in Italy; date not given]

[Text] [Schacherl] This year has marked a turning point for the USSR. The novelties are there for all to see, in foreign policy and in the institutional reforms. It is fairly clear which forces opposed to renewal have emerged defeated. What is less clear is which forces are working actively for reforms. So what is the social and political base behind Gorbachev's restructuring?

[Volkov] It is a matter not so much of specific social forces as of an entire situation in a state of flux. It is this that on the one hand has isolated and excluded the opposition and on the other is inexorably aiding the advance of the forces that can support the reform in the long term. These reforms affect a large proportion of the intelligentsia and young people, part of the apparatus, and also sectors of the intermediate party and economic cadres...

[Schacherl] What about the working class as such?

[Volkov] They are experiencing a complex situation. Among the workers we are seeing strong democratic tendencies, but often their immediate interests do not coincide with the reform and they still lack the political and organizational experience for a longer-term strategy. Nevertheless, in various workers' collectives a tendency is emerging to seek contact with the more politically active groups of the intelligentsia. The future of restructuring depends precisely on what progress self-organization succeeds in making among the workers—I mean all workers, laborers, skilled workers, clerical staff...

[Schacherl] What about in the countryside?

[Volkov] To be honest, we do not know much about it. There are significant groups of intellectuals who try to study it and who believe that the country's economic and political future depends on it. However in these groups—and I have in mind such worthy writers as Rasputin and Astafyev and in general the return to populist traditions—it is patriarchal, nationalistic, and basically conservative attitudes that prevail. Not to mention the pan-Russian, anti-Semitic, parafascist tendencies of such groups as Pamyat...

[Schacherl] In the current discussions in the West—but not only in the West—about the USSR's evolution, emphasis is placed on the absence, for historical reasons, of a civil society, without which the success of the necessary political reform seems more difficult. Is this true?

[Volkov] At a conference in Paris I heard the editor of "Rzezpolityka" [as published] say that in Poland there is a civil society, but that nevertheless democracy does not exist. I believe that indeed in our country a civil society does not exist—not only in the Western sense, but even in the sense that it might have had after Alexander II's reforms. Stalinism set the country back a long way in this regard. However, the attempt to restore the conditions for it is growing increasingly strong. Consider the recent developments in the Baltic republics. But also with regard to the Armenians, I can cite long conversations at our club with representatives of Nagornyy Karabakh and say that an entirely independent Soviet power structure has been created there, with the working class' active and organized participation. Similar phenomena are developing in the form of independent clubs in a number of Russian cities. I believe this process should be, so to speak, hierarchical in character: In what is still an amorphous society you must first create a solid nucleus of independent groups that can then spread through society. If this did not happen society would fall under the influence of radical right-wing groups which, under the banner of nationalistic ideology, would restore the entire country to a totalitarian regime.

[Schacherl] So is political pluralism the inevitable outcome?

[Volkov] For us pluralism is not only a political but also a historical problem. The single-party system is part of our deep-rooted tradition. What we are seeking now is to invent an alternative model of pluralism that will complete and enrich the single party with a number of independent social and political organizations. The CPSU leadership group and the country know that this is our plan. There exists in Moscow an informal group within the party that represents various clubs, including ours, and that shares our stances with regard to a democratic alternative. This group was officially invited to the party conference in the rayon where we work and there, for the first time, it conducted an open, sometimes tense, but never harsh dialogue with the official stances. I believe that even part of the central apparatus regards these experiments sympathetically. In any case, even the party press and PRAVDA itself have reported objectively on our criticisms of the Supreme Soviet for having obscured our alternative draft laws.

There are others, however—among us, for instance, Kurashvili, who has important links with the leadership, and the new "Moscow Tribune Club"—that believe that democratization and the creation of a legal state depend on a two-party system. The present party split in two: on the one hand all the conservatives, and on the other the renewalists. I believe we must not be in a hurry. The single party is also traditionally the cohesive element of society. Too rapid a disruption would lead to a right-wing outcome and to the replacement of Gorbachev's party with a totalitarian nationalist party effectively fascist in nature. We are aiming instead at the creation, within the framework of the single-party system, of

increasingly numerous and strong independent groups and, first and foremost, a real independent labor union that is not purely vertical, and that is organized by enterprises and professions. These ideas are prompting much interest: Even KOMMUNIST has asked us to present them in its columns.

[Schacherl] These are not restructuring's only difficulties, however. This year the nationalities problem has exploded too. How has it been tackled?

[Volkov] It is an acute issue—but not only in the USSR. Its solution lies not in more or less enlightened answers found ad hoc, but in a broad and partly spontaneous process extending beyond the leadership's decisions. In any case, in our country this is partly an artificial problem created by the schizophrenic policy of Stalin who, while exalting the ideal of friendship among the peoples, in fact implemented pan-Russian domination. Thus the current developments in the Baltic countries are historically understandable and clear and enjoy the leadership's support, and we must hope for a reasonable compromise. The issue of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict is different, against the background of a real Islamic fundamentalist threat. Nevertheless I believe that, at least as far as Nagornyy Karabakh is concerned, the social aspect is more important than the national aspect. As I said, there is already an autonomous and alternative structure there. Time is in their favor. The solution of the interethnic contradictions will also depend on the development of these initiatives from below. Perhaps if Moscow had at the outset used a different tone, many complications could have been averted in Armenia. Now, following the earthquake, I believe that the decision, albeit perhaps rather late, to entrust supervision of the aid and reconstruction work to Sakharov's moral patronage is in the right direction. Sakharov has enormous prestige: It is enough to consider the unopposed welcome granted to the proposal of his candidacy submitted at the recent "Memorial" conference. More generally, however, I consider as positive all ideas envisaging the intelligentsia's involvement even in the thorniest issues—such as that being campaigned for by the Russian scholar Galina Staravojstova [name as published], who advocates cooperation between Armenian and Azerbaijani intellectuals.

[Schacherl] Last, relations between the USSR and the other socialist countries—especially those where restructuring is encountering greater mistrust. Its future will be determined here, too.

[Volkov] It was I who wrote in our club's newspaper the article on the Prague 20th anniversary. It was headlined: "The 1968 Restructuring." There is very broad adherence to this sort of view in our country. However, there are also forces that prefer to preserve the present situation with regard to relations with our allies. But in my opinion, the obvious fluctuations are mainly tactical rather than strategic. What I mean is that Gorbachev certainly does not intend to impose restructuring on other countries. However, within those countries—where, for that matter, the situations are diversified and becoming increasingly so—the reforms will depend on the capacity of the domestic democratic forces. That is, of course, as well as on whatever influence our renewal succeeds in exerting, and on a positive evolution of East-West relations.

Procurator General Questioned on Wasted Goods

LD1901044789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Excerpt] In the USSR procuracy today there was an expanded meeting of the collegium to discuss the question of preserving socialist property in the foreign trade activity of a number of ministries and departments. Our correspondent Anatoliy Fedorov invited to the microphone Aleksandr Yakovlevich Sukharev, procurator general of the USSR.

[Fedorov] Aleksandr Yakovlevich, until recently this theme was closed off from the broad public. The picture that was revealed today about the state of preservation of these imported goods bought with the people's money, for foreign currency, created in me and not only in me but also the other journalists and officials present here, to put it mildly, a state of shock. Goods worth millions of rubles are stolen, squandered, and allowed to spoil, starting from equipment, footwear and clothing and ending with grain and meat. It is hard to imagine incidents such as the time customs officers, and not the appropriate services of the railways ministry, discovered in Brest allegedly empty wagons to be sent abroad in which there were remnants of metal, cement, and other materials bought earlier as imports and not unloaded by the appropriate services. What is your assessment of all of this?

[Sukharev] What can I say to you? The appropriate procedures have not been organized and in a number of cases there is no responsiblity. [passage omitted]

*Legal Scholar on Proposed Criminal Legislation

WA18000353 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Dec 88 p 3

[Interview conducted by Ye. Zhbanov, IZVESTIYA special correspondent, with Professor I.M. Galperin, doctor of juridical sciences and leading scientific associate of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Problems of Strengthening Legality and Legal Order: "New Legal Guidelines"]

[Text] **While this issue was being composed, IZVESTIYA's special correspondent turned to Professor I.M. Galperin, doctor of juridical sciences and leading scientific associate at the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Problems of Strengthening Legality and Legal Order, with a request to comment on the recently published draft Foundations of Criminal Legislation of the USSR.**

[Zhbanov] Isaak Mikhaylovich, you were a member of the task force on drafting the new Foundations. You are familiar with the text. What are the features in this document which, in your view, are most indicative in the light of perestroyka in our society?

[Galperin] Above all, we cannot fail to see the particular social aspect of the fact that a draft legislative act which will define in the future the fundamental principles of a sharply controversial problem, such as the struggle against crime, has been submitted for nationwide discussion. Naturally, a nationwide discussion is the most democratic and reliable way of passing any law. It is a kind of testing facility.

If we were to describe the project as a whole, it seems to me that in that case we could note at least three of its essential features. First, it is a question of a consistent manifestation of socialist humanism. Second, it means democracy, not abstract but consistent with the tasks and requirements of the present. Third, and last, I would note its scientific substantiation: The contemporary level of the science of criminal law, based on the profound study of the dynamics of crime and the efficiency of legal standards, has been substantially taken into consideration.

It is precisely in terms of the organic combination of such features that we must also evaluate the juridical novels which are to be discussed.

For example, let us single out problems related to criminal liability of minors. This is a painful problem which strikes at the nerves, particularly in connection with increased frequency juvenile delinquency. Studies have indicated, however, that one must in no case treat equally an adolescent and an adult even though they may have committed the same type of crime. Based on the concern shown by society for the growing generation and our responsibility for the fate of the adolescents, the draft bill stipulates that the maximal term of deprivation of freedom for them cannot exceed 7 years; other forms of reduced punishment for minors are contemplated as well.

We must point out that the draft Foundations, in general, have reduced the maximal term of penalty to 10 years, for studies have indicated that an excessively long incarceration leaves the inmates few real hopes for a subsequent normal life: The effect of "adaptation" becomes stronger than that of the punishment. It is only in the case of particularly severe crimes (such as, for instance, taking a bribe or a particularly big theft or some other) has the penalty of deprivation of freedom for no more than 15 years been retained.

One of the most striking novelties which precisely characterizes the consistency of the new draft with the requirements of the present, in my view, is solving the problem of the so-called "selfless criminal." This has been extensively discussed in the press. What great tragedies and injustices have been befallen on people who by virtue, let us say, of work necessity, have been forced to engage in socially useful actions in violation of the law. Such people have been criminally prosecuted. Everything was done according to the law and was officially right. Essentially, however, socially useful actions were artificially turned into socially dangerous ones. Hundreds of such cases could be cited. The draft Foundations now stipulate, in cases of justified production or professional risk, that such cases will bear no criminal liability. In other words, the thrifty manager who undertakes an economic or commercial risk for the public good, although in violation of ossified departmental instructions, will not be a considered a criminal.

Naturally, the risk must be substantiated and justified. The question is not formulated in terms of ignoring or violating instructions! No. However, other, let us say disciplinary, measures of influence may be applied in such cases. It is a question of avoiding the involvement of criminal laws in this case, for they are a rather sharp weapon: They are like a surgical scalpel where, metaphorically speaking, therapy would suffice.

[Zhbanov] How is all of this coordinated with the currently drafted concept of the state of law?

[Galperin] Most closely for, as I see it, the state of law proceeds above all on the basis of guaranteed human rights and, consequently, also presumes the humanizing of laws and making them closer to the needs of human life. Here as well we must mandatorily get rid of a predilection for accusations. Let me, in particular, draw the attention of the readers to a detail which may seem petty but... is quite substantial. The draft makes a change in the system of punitive measures. In the past it was from more to less severe: deprivation of freedom-correctional labor-fine. The same sequence was followed also in the penalties stipulated in any article of the criminal code. Now we proceed from reprimand to deprivation of freedom, i.e., on an ascending line. One may object that the sum does not change by restructuring the components. Is the sequence of the measures of punishment important? Yes, it is. I would describe this as a kind of warning precisely against the indictment bias. Let us assume that the judges turn to the article on the theft of state property. Currently Article 89 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, Title 1, calls for a punishment of deprivation of freedom for no more than 3 years or correctional labor or else a fine. The inverse procedure, starting with the less severe sentence, somehow changes the very mental process: Look, judges, should we not limit ourselves to a fine? Should we not? Is this not adequate? It is only then that you should think of a more severe punishment.... I repeat, this detail is quite important psychologically.

We must not fail to point out that some types of punishment such as, for example, deportation and exile, are entirely deleted from the draft. Unfortunately, during the period of stagnation, all possible efforts were made to intensify in our country punitive practices.

Frequently (in fact and not in words) the correlation between the nature of the act and the penalty was totally ignored. For that reason the legal assessment of the crime and its real consequences were confused to the point of absurdity. For example, to this day, according to the RSFSR Criminal Code, if a thief should break into an apartment and steal a baby carriage, he could be punished more severely than should he kidnap the child.

On the other hand, let us say that someone engages in hooliganism in a communal apartment. Is it mandatory that he be sentenced to 1 year of deprivation of freedom? At the same time, however, there should be no tolerance either. Studies have led to the conclusion that a new type of punishment must be introduced: arrest, not to exceed 3 months. This is, so to say, a shock punishment. In this case the emphasis is on punitive influence: Let the person feel what lack of freedom under conditions of strict isolation means.

We thought that the more scrupulously we differentiate among acts and punishments, the more we would take into consideration the circumstances which would enable us strictly to correlate the action with the penalty, the more secure will be will be the triumph of justice. It is precisely in this aspect that we must also consider the special law introduced in the draft, according to which an honest repentance, a guilty plea and prevention of the harmful consequences of a crime could even serve as grounds for dropping criminal charges. This new development is of exceptional importance.

[Zhbanov] Tell me, who participated in the task force which drafted the new Foundations?

[Galperin] The task force included scientists from the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the State and Law, our institute, the Soviet Legislation Institute, the MVD Academy and senior law enforcement workers. Even before the official decision on drafting the new Foundations was made, for several years a group of scientists, headed by Academician V.N. Kudryavtsev, had worked on drafting a theoretical model for the now published draft. In other words, a scientific blueprint of the draft, if I may say so, was prepared.

[Zhbanov] Does this mean that once again the bar was not invited to participate in drafting the Foundations?

[Galperin] Unfortunately, yes. I believe, however, that with the creation of the Bar Association, its representation in the law-making process will become the rule.

[Zhbanov] In recent years legislative activities have increased. Important laws seem to have been passed such as, for example, those on the struggle against unearned income, the struggle against drunkenness, individual labor activity, and appealing illegal actions committed by officials. However, as in the past, they were passed without any extensive discussion, sometimes hastily. Presently major faults are being found in them. Are we guaranteed against a repetition of such cases?

[Galperin] Such guarantees are as yet to be drafted and implemented. Yet many laws were drafted behind closed doors without being subjected to the expert evaluation of scientists, a democratic procedure which is simply mandatory in a state of law. I am referring to the procedure of debates and pluralism of opinions. Until recently we were not even familiar with an institution such an alternate draft.

[Zhbanov] Was the view of the legal public taken into consideration in the formulation of this draft?

[Galperin] Following its formulation, the draft was sent to the Union republics and to a number of large cities. I, for example, went to Georgia. We held a special conference with a broad representative membership of practical jurists and scientists.

[Zhbanov] In all likelihood the nationwide discussion will trigger a storm of responses and a variety of different wishes. What questions do you consider most critical?

[Galperin] I am sad to say that sociological studies indicate that many people in our country are still not rid of emotions, rigorism and belief in the need to take strict measures for "warning" purposes. Therefore, one must anticipate a flood of requirements not to ease but, conversely, to increase the strictness of penalties and apply the death penalty more extensively.

Naturally, the question of "for" and "against" the ultimate penalty is the most crucial. The draft Foundations sharply limit its application. The fact that the death penalty has been removed from the array of economic and official crimes is the result of profound criminological analysis and not simply of the benevolence of "humanitarians." In human terms, it is sinful to send a person "to the other world" even if he has stolen a great deal of money. Let me remind you that throughout Europe the death penalty has been retained only in the socialist countries. Incidentally, it has already been abolished in the GDR.

[Zhbanov] Were all stipulations in the draft adopted unanimously?

[Galperin] No. I, for example, do not agree with the fact that in the classification of crimes in the draft, crimes committed by lack of caution, which have entailed catastrophic consequences, such as the sinking of the Motor Ship "Admiral Nakhimov," have not been classified as severe. This, however, is no more than my own viewpoint.

Finally, let me emphasize that the priority trends of humaneness and democracy have not required in the least any radical changes in all the stipulations of the

current Foundations. Many legal formulations have been retained, such as, for example, the general concept of guilt, and need no essential updating.

A noted humorist once pointed out that if a streetcar conductor would keep seeking new tracks the streetcar would derail. It is much more important, however, that it reach its destination.

New Approach to Teaching History Viewed

PM1701093189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 89 Second Edition p 3

[Reader's letter followed by discussion between G.V. Klokova, head of the history teaching laboratory of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences Institute for teaching material and methods, and Yu. Bychkov under the rubric "Complex Question": "Honesty about the Past"]

[Text] "Can you tell me how work is progressing in preparing new social science textbooks? How soon will schoolchildren have a genuine history textbook?"

R. Shapovalova, Aleksandriya city, Kirovograd Oblast

Last spring an extraordinary event occurred: The history examinations in senior classes and VUZ's were canceled. It seemed that millions of copies of school textbooks and hundreds of thousands of man-hours in classes and lecture halls had been wasted—on the study of facts and events which have little to do with our real history.

It was a bitter lesson for students, teachers, and leaders—for everyone. What assignment were we all given to take home? First—that everyone must dare to have his own opinion. It is the duty of everyone to speak and write the truth; only truth can instruct and educate a man, whereas lies and hidden meanings merely teach you how to adapt. Second, we need a new textbook on the history of the USSR. How soon will it appear and what will it be like? V. Klokova, head of the history teaching laboratory of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences Institute for teaching material and methods, talks about this now.

[Bychkov] Galina Vasilyevna, the past teaches that without free choice there is no free science and no truth, just doubtful axioms. For that reason everyone is interested in how the authors of the new textbook were chosen.

[Klokova] It seems to me that many of our mistakes were connected with secrecy in discussing whom to appoint as textbook authors. Only a very limited range of writers were allowed to work on a book. The USSR Ministry of Education entrusted this work to a particular expert. He then selected a range of authors and, on the prescribed date, the customer received the manuscript. Competition? There wasn't any, nor was there any question of an alternate choice. The author enjoyed a complete monopoly in the interpretation of history. His views were sanctified in all the schools in the country. The textbooks' contents reflected as much as possible the prevailing views of our history. When the leadership changed, extra chapters were written "supplementing" the information on the No 1.

So our history became as smooth as an office desk, as red as the cloth of a presidium table at a ceremonial meeting. Not a single "superfluous" hue, not a single indentation. No pain, no mistakes, no desperate struggle—everything which created doubts had disappeared. Even many famous people seemed to have disappeared without trace from our past....

[Bychkov] Are they going to be in the textbooks now?

[Klokova] Yes. For the first time in many years it is planned to produce the future history textbook on a competitive basis. The State Committee for Public Education has announced an open competition to produce a textbook on the history of the Soviet period for senior school pupils. Anyone who so desires can take part in it. The work will be assessed by a special commission, which will examine all the manuscripts received.

[Bychkov] An open competition—that is already a hopeful sign. But the old "restricted" range of authors are not debarred from participation in the competition. Once again there is the question of who will be on the jury. Will its work be open? Is there a guarantee that schools will receive an honest and good-quality history textbook?

[Klokova] Only our life can provide that guarantee. In freeing ourselves from falsehood we are looking deeply into history. And history itself forces us to take a new look at the future—these processes are interconnected. I am very pleased that, as today's publications show, there are very many honorable and intelligent people among historians. It may be said with confidence that genuine history, like genuine literature, also existed in the time of stagnation. That is encouraging. Second—there is glasnost. The bureaucrat's main weapon is secrecy. In its striving for unlimited power the leadership had a vital interest in distorting historical truth, which always leads to notorious "blank spots." It is easier to manipulate a consciousness which is separated from the truth. But glasnost shatters all illusions. Now, when history is being recreated by the newspapers, magazines, and cinema, textbooks cannot ignore these facts.

[Bychkov] But it is not just a question of covering up certain facts and of "augmenting" the role of individuals. Those errors are being quite successfully corrected by the press. It is a question of a system of knowledge, a strategy for understanding the events of the past. Take any textbook of past years. The history of our state was reduced to just the history of the party. Quite understandably, the party plays the decisive role in our life. But does that not impoverish our past? Our history is far richer, and the pity is that it looks so trivial and primitive. How will these phenomena be overcome?

[Klokova] If it is true of men of letters "that they all came out of 'The Greatcoat,'" [Dostoyevskiy quote on the significance to Russian literature of Gogol's novel of that name], then historians were the product of the "Short Course of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)," edited by Stalin and Zhdanov. It was that "course" which adapted the history of the country to the history of the party. Now that concept is being firmly revised.

I should also like to say that for the first time it will be recommended that schools use not one but several history textbooks. The teacher, at his discretion, will be able to choose one of the books offered. It is not a question of different views on history. For example, the study of history from an anti-Marxist viewpoint is impermissible in our country. It is simply that the textbooks will present historical events in a different way and with varying depth. We are also taking into account the forms in which material is presented. In some books material will be presented in the form of a dialogue, in others it will be more fictionalized, and in others it will be based purely on documents.

[Bychkov] You hear much criticism of the experts: For example, that they have turned the "blanks" into "black spots" and that our entire history has been transformed into an unbroken chain of errors. They also recall the well-known Vysotskiy song: "And the country's whole history is the history of disease." Can the new generation be educated, they ask, using negative material?

[Klokova] There is a good saying that you learn from your mistakes. Why should we hide our mistakes from our descendants? So that they can make new ones? I believe that history should teach science to choose its own life and moral values. Can people be won over by lies or silence?

Why should our history in its new form be black? Take Raskolnikov, Bukharin, Vavilov.... I am sure that everyone can name thousands who have brought restructuring closer. Undoubtedly, fate turned out tragically for many of them. But history is not always made by the "lucky ones."

[Bychkov] Galina Vasilyevna, now, as we talk about the new textbook and about the truthful works of the future, history lessons are in progress in schools and the old "truths" are being dinned into students' heads. How long will the teachers go on worrying and children go on suffering from ignorance?

[Klokova] Last year, indeed, the Education Publishing House made a glaring mistake when it reprinted a 4-year-old textbook. But we simply did not have anything else. We were not ready for such an abrupt change of events either ideologically or technically. But it must not be forgotten that the newspapers, as the tanks of restructuring, are "advancing the front line" virtually every day. Even in 1 month the level of glasnost changes beyond recognition. I think that very much depends on the teachers here. They need knowledge and courage to give history lessons today.

Metropolitan Filaret on Church-State Relations

AU1701144989 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 16 Jan 89 p 5

[Interview with Metropolitan Filaret, chairman of the Moscow Patriarchate Foreign Church Relations Department, by Rose-Marie Borngaesser in Moscow "before his current trip to the FRG": "The Russian-Orthodox Church Prays Everywhere for the Success of Perestroyka"]

[Text] [Borngaesser] How do you evaluate the current relations between party and church in the Soviet Union?

Filaret: We have to specify primarily one thing: There are only relations between church and state. For relations exist only in this sphere, not between church and party.

[Borngaesser] What are these relations like?

Filaret: Thank God, they are normal now—that is to say, they are even very good. For the state has enabled us to festively celebrate the millenium of the Russian-Orthodox Church. The Danilov Monastery was handed over to us in time (in 1985—the editors) for the festivities. Moreover, several other monasteries were given back to the church in the course of these festivities. Yes, we are in the middle of a process of churches and monasteries being returned.

[Borngaesser] Can you give figures?

Filaret: Yes. For example, in 1987 only 16 to 17 parishes were registered in the Russian-Orthodox Church. In 1988 there were already 800, mind you, only the orthodox parishes. Together with other religious denominations, the number of the parishes amounted to 1,000 in this anniversary year.

[Borngaesser] Does this sudden return not put you into financial difficulties?

Filaret: The financial situation is still not so bad at present. However, difficulties certainly arise. The church does not receive any state funds. Everything is exclusively raised by donations of the faithful of the Russian - Orthodox Church. However, we also get help from another side, for example, the FRG Catholic Church.

[Borngaesser] What is the present number of the faithful in the Soviet Union?

Filaret: God knows how many there are! I do not know it; nobody knows it. Although there are several sociological studies, I do not believe that they represent the situation objectively.

[Borngaesser] Are the christening celebrations not registered?

Filaret: Yes, certainly. On the basis of the christening celebrations, one could get a realistic idea. Now we are also conducting surveys to this effect.

[Borngaesser] How many priests are there?

Filaret: Their number is constantly increasing as the number of parishes increases, too. However, exact figures are not available here either.

[Borngaesser] Is it possible for a party member to be a Christian?

Filaret: You have to ask the party, or, even better, a party functionary whether he can be a party member and, at the same time, a believer. I believe that the answer will be no. For this is prohibited by the CPSU statute.

[Borngaesser] Do you fear a relapse in the relations with the state, if perestroyka does not succeed?

Filaret: There will be no relapse in the church. Neither do I, personally, consider such a relapse possible in society.

[Borngaesser] What are the present relations between the Orthodox Church and the Vatican?

Filaret: We have normal relations, just as with the other churches. We maintain continuous correspondence with the heads of the Roman-Catholic Church.

[Borngaesser] Do you also talk about the Ukrainian Church?

Filaret: Yes, we dedicate great attention to this topic, however, not only to the Ukrainian Church, but to the problem of the Uniate Churches in general. Moreover, this is not a special problem which exists only in the Ukraine, but which also disturbs the other Orthodox Churches.

[Borngaesser] Yet the conflict between Rome and Moscow is rooted in the Ukrainian Uniate Church.

Filaret: This is really a complicated question. It is the stumbling block. For we regard the Uniates as a nonclerical instrument for unification. However, we are seriously striving to find a solution.

[Borngaesser] When will the Pope come to Moscow?

Filaret: As early as before our anniversary ceremonies, there were many speculations on this question. We declared then and we declare now: This "summit" is important. However, before it can take place, several questions have to be cleared up. We need time for it. But we are very optimistic.

[Borngaesser] What is your main concern at present?

Filarest: My first wish is—and I believe my compatriots share it—that the process of restructuring will become established in our society. I believe that all Soviet citizens agree on this. Everywhere during my meetings, during the church services in all churches of Belorussia, I have seen the hope in the people's eyes. We have prayed together for perestroyka.

Chernobyl Safety Assured Despite Funding Cuts

PM1901112989 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 15 Jan 89 p 2

[Report by correspondent Zh. Tkachenko: "Security is Advantageous"]

[Text] Chernobyl—The news of the Chernobyl AES' transfer to economic accountability [khozraschet] has taken many people aback. What will happen now: They will start to reduce the number of personnel and seek other ways of saving money. But what about safety?

Indeed, the operation of atomic units does not permit the reduction of spending on safety for the sake of increasing profit. Anxiety in this case is understandable, but it is precisely economic accountability that should become the lever ensuring the punctilious work of the duty personnel, the repair services, and every member of the operating staff. That is what the station's economists believe. The point is that the safety of the AES' operation is economically advantageous. If it can work without additional expenditures, without unplanned stoppages to check the equipment and communications, the station will generate more electricity and consequently the profit will be greater. And so the power workers' priority in introducing economic accountability is the reliability of the equipment, the generating process, and consequently the safety of operation.

'Bitter Controversy' Over Khabarovsk AES

LD1701073289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0100 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] The prospects for the construction of a Far East atomic power station have been discussed in Khabarovsk at a meeting between the public and Reshetnikov, USSR deputy minister of the nuclear power industry, together with chief specialists from this ministry, scientists, economists, planners, and representatives of central health care bodies. There was bitter controversy over the choice of the proposed site for construction of the atomic power station. It is a region where the Amur's ethnic minority groups live. Their spokesmen and other

participants in the meeting voiced their opposition to construction of the AES, and diametrically opposite viewpoints were put. Today the experts from the Ministry of the Nuclear Power Industry will meet the public of the town of Komsomolsk-na-Amure, to the north of which the ministry plans to build the Far East AES.

New Head of Dubna Nuclear Institute Elected

LD1801234789 Moscow TASS in English 1800 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Dubna January 18 TASS—Academician Dezso Kiss, well-known Hungarian physicist, was elected new director of the United Institute of Nuclear Research in Dubna, near Moscow. He replaced Soviet scientist and academician Nikolay Bogolyubov.

Kiss was elected for three years by the current conference of plenipotentiaries of the governments of eleven socialist countries whose representatives work at the Dubna Institute.

Dezso Kiss is 60 years old. He was been working at the Dubna International Centre for 23 years. He started as senior research worker under the supervision of Nobel Peace Prize winner Academician Iliya Frank and was the institute's vice-director from 1976 to 1979.

Gorbachev Greets Women Skiing to South Pole

LD1701143789 Moscow TASS in English 1405 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 17 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev sent a message of greeting to a Soviet women's sport team called Metelitsa (poetic Russian word for "snowstorm"), who are skiing from the Mirny (peaceful) Observatory to the South Geomagnetic Pole.

He said in a telegram to the Soviet Antarctic expedition that the trek is a great challenge since women have never crossed the ice-bound continent before.

"There is profound meaning in the fact that women, thinking of the good of succeeding generations, suggest that the Antarctic be made, by the pooled efforts of many nations, a model for international cooperation and a continent of science, friendship and peace," Gorbachev said.

He expressed admiration for the women's courage, steadfastness and belief in themselves.

In their reply the women thanked the Soviet leader for his cordial greetings.

Over the past 40 days they have covered 800 kilometres, skiing for nine to ten hours a day. Thirty more days of travel lie ahead.

The journey's aim is to test the influence of extreme conditions on a woman's organism.

The experience and scientific results gained during the trek will be put to use next year when an international women's research party will ski from the Soviet Vostok Station to the U.S. Amundsen-Scott Station on the southern ice cap.

The planned trip will be dedicated to the 30th anniversary of the Antarctic Treaty.

Metelitsa comprise eleven members and have been led for many years by Moscow radio engineer Valentina Kuznetsova.

From 1974 to 1987 the intrepid young women made nine high-latitude journeys. They will take part in next year's international trek as well.

Economic

PRAVDA Outlines Policy on Western Credits

PM1701114789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 89 Second Edition p 3

[A. Lyutyy article incorporating interview with unnamed specialists at USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity: "Talking About Credits Once Again"; first two paragraphs are reader's letter; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] It is said that our country is again receiving credits from Western states. Which countries exactly are we receiving them from? On what scale? What are the sums involved? The terms? And most important, what are we spending them on?

[Signed] V. Golubev, Gorkiy.

Questions like this are often received by the editorial office now. Although our press has repeatedly covered in varying degrees the problem of the Soviet Union's receipt of foreign credits, readers' interest in it shows no sign of abating. It is not just that, unlike even a short while ago, we write about this more openly. It is also the fact that some people in our country are concerned that we are becoming economically dependent and that we will damage ourselves. In the West, too—both among economists and in the press—there is lively discussion. Sometimes accompanied by a tinge of malice and malevolence: It is argued that the West is financing Soviet restructuring.

In an attempt to clarify matters I turned to leading specialists of the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity. Here is what I was told:

[Unidentified specialist] A very broad spectrum of the interests and opinions of journalists, businessmen, and politicians can be seen in Western newspapers and magazines, ranging from a positive reaction to restructuring in our country expressed in a desire to develop trade and grant credits, to a desire on the part of certain

figures to slow down credit and financial cooperation with the USSR, to create an impression of excessive Soviet indebtedness, and to impugn our country's prestige as a first-class borrower.

The conclusion of a number of agreements to which FRG and Italian banks and financial organizations are party has prompted lively discussion. Under these agreements the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity will use targeted credits to modernize our light and food industries. There are also a number of proposals from other countries—Britain and France, for example. We have utilized such credits before, just as all other countries do, including the most developed ones. This all forms part of our programs to restructure and modernize the economy. The credits are not so significant in scale compared to total investments. Traditionally, foreign credit resources do not exceed 3 percent of the total amount of investments in the national economy. The sums mentioned in the Western press ($9-10 billion) are extremely overstated and include not only lines of credit—that is, our right to obtain credits over several years—but even proposals made by bankers.

[Lyutyy] What made us interested in obtaining foreign credits?

[Unidentified specialist] Most of the credits are targeted credits, that is, intended to pay for purchases aimed at developing priority areas of our economy. With the help of advanced Western machinery, technology, and capital equipment, a number of acute national economic problems can be solved more successfully, the country's export potential enhanced, and goods output, particularly consumer goods output, to replace imports increased. We have an interest in this kind of credit policy.

The purchase on credit of consumer goods themselves and goods in general is certainly not the most sensible method of solving economic problems as it is highly doubtful that such outlays can be recovered, and it will require that additional foreign currency funds be sought.

Another thing: Credits will, of course, play a positive role in restructuring only if they are used with economic responsibility. We know that this was not always so in the past. For example, imported equipment purchased through foreign bank credits and stockpiled in enterprise warehouses and at construction sites in our country amounted to R4.6 billion as of 1 January 1988. As a result, output losses exceeded R3 billion.

But there are positive experiences, too: Such major facilities in the USSR as the Urengoy-Western border gas pipeline, chemical enterprises in Kursk and Mogilev, metallurgical enterprises in Zhlobin and Sayanogorsk, the Karagachan and Astrakhan oil and gas condensate fields, the Sheremetyevo-2 Airport, and many other facilities were built or reconstructed using foreign credit.

Banks represent the interests of their clients—trade firms, corporations, monopolies. Banks' offers of credit reflect the desire of business circles engaged in a keenly competitive struggle not to miss export opportunities under the new conditions.

[Lyutyy] How favorable are the credit terms being offered us?

[Unidentified specialist] Western business circles trust the Soviet Union, which has a first-rate reputation for meeting its commitments. Restructuring is helping enhance our prestige and the terms of credit offered can, in light of the objective situation existing on the international money market, be regarded as entirely favorable.

[Lyutyy] Is there not the threat of a certain economic dependence on the West?

[Unidentified specialist] It is quite obvious that the question of dependence cannot arise. However, cases of excessive use of credit, which at a certain stage does become dangerous, are well known in the world. A number of countries have become bankrupt or have experienced great economic difficulties in the eighties.

It is naturally essential to keep an eye on the amount of credit obtained to ensure it meets the potential and needs of the Soviet economy. In view of the economy's potential and the relatively small scale of the credits, it is as unjustified to talk about economic dependence as it is to allege that we cannot manage without Western financial aid.

Unused Equipment Imports Paid For 'Twice Over'

PM1801132589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 1

[V. Yakovlev commentary under rubric "Topical Issues": "Bought With Foreign Currency—For the Warehouse"]

[Text] The press quite frequently carries reports on the purchase of very expensive equipment from abroad. More rarely you learn what actually becomes of this equipment. How is it assembled and its capacity assimilated? It so happens that the USSR State Committee for Statistics does not have information on the real situation as it is today. The explanation they give is that they no longer have the right to demand this kind of information. Calendar lists of equipment waiting to be installed are compiled once a year. Spot checks carried out by statistical bodies still leave this complex area completely untouched. But if there is no real monitoring of the situation, it is hard to imagine that order will be established in the near future in the use of imported equipment bought with foreign currency, which we certainly cannot afford to throw around.

I received a telephone call from Baku. N. Mamedov, chief mechanic at the "Azerplodoovoshchvinogradprom" Association, cheerfully informed me that the modernization of the Zakataly Nut Preparation Plant was in full swing. There were only five columns left to erect in the new building, and then they would be able to start assembling the equipment. The very same equipment, we must add, that was supposed to have gone into operation in the fourth quarter of 1988 according to the latest schedule.

This unique equipment for the commercial processing of hazelnuts (drying, grading, and polishing) was bought in Italy for the Zakataly plant at the cost of R1.4 million to the state. It is designed to process 11,000 tonnes of nuts per year. The contract was signed in 1985 and the equipment obtained in 1986. The firm's guarantee period has already expired and the assembly has not even begun.

This is no isolated instance. More than one 5-year plan has counted on equipment being bought abroad. Enterprises processing fruit and vegetables import approximately half of their equipment. The main suppliers are CEMA member countries. We get production lines from Hungary to process green peas, lines from Yugoslavia to prepare tomatoes, and equipment from Bulgaria to produce apple juice. Annual contracts with each of these countries total R25-35 million altogether. It is impossible, on the whole, to say whether this equipment is going to spend time lying around in warehouses. But it often happens that a project is not ready for construction or that equipment is not sent in complete batches. For these reasons, plants designed to process apples in Alma-Ata and Osh were not commissioned in 1988. In Sukhumi, a mandarin orange processing complex stood ready for 2 years because the equipment had not been ordered in time.

The calendar lists of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, which note "very longstanding construction projects" involving imported equipment, are an original record of the bad management and extravagance of past years. Two sets of equipment for sugar refineries were bought from Poland back in 1980. One set, costing R12.6 million, was destined for Voronezh Oblast and the other, costing R4.2 million, was for Ternopol Oblast. A large part of this equipment is still in warehouses. Production lines for bottling Czech beer are growing rusty. Talks are now being held to discuss the possibility of buying more equipment like it from Czechoslovakia—to replace the equipment that is now obsolete.

One question is still unclear: Who, under the new economic management conditions, is going to pay for all this? According to the USSR Gosagroprom, stocks of imported equipment still waiting to be installed are worth R570 million all told. We have a lot of inspectors in our country but no one to call to account—in some places because too many years have passed, and in others because the state has paid for everything and the question therefore appears to be closed.

But, allow me to point out that you and I are becoming poorer twice over because of all this: First, foreign currency is being squandered to no purpose and, second, the amount of fruit and vegetables wasted continues to grow, as they are not being processed. The economic accountability system is now coming into operation, forcing us to count every kopek. But even now, you can still find a considerable number of economic personnel who have complete faith in the state's writing off all the bills once more.

Official Questioned on Soviet Living Standards

PM1801103189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with V.I. Guryev, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Statistics, by correspondent V. Romanyuk under the "Qualified Sources" rubric: "What Our Standard of Living Is Like"—date and place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics [Goskomstat] has begun preparing a cost of living index. What will it really give the consumer? Your IZVESTIYA Correspondent V. Romanyuk put that to committee deputy chairman V.I. Guryev.

(Guryev) Under the conditions of restructuring, it is very important for us to know how we are living and how we compare with other countries. Otherwise it is hard to form a strong social policy.

(Romanyuk) The press has quoted the following figures: The standard of living in the USSR is three times lower than that in the United States. What are your thoughts on that?

(Guryev) I am not going to dispute it. But, strictly speaking, it could just as easily have been reported that our living standard is 1 and ½ times higher. Not a single scientist has given us his data,and the Goskomstat still does not have a satisfactory methodology. In any event, these are just our initial approaches to the question. We must supplement the statistical study of all aspects of the living standard with such indicators as the "cost of living," the "cost of the market basket," an "index of prices of goods and services," and the "purchasing power of the ruble." When studying the cost of living, we need normatives of rational consumption and the supply of goods and services, taking into account different social groups of the population and information on fluctuations in the demand for and supply of goods and services.

(Romanyuk) Is it perhaps easiest to begin by elaborating on the "market basket"?

(Guryev) But what should it contain? Information gained from family budget studies show that the main item in the population's spending is food. More than one-third of families' total income is spent on that. Almost the same amount goes to buying nonfood goods. On average a family spends a little over 10 percent of its income on cultural and consumer services.

(Romanyuk) Many of our readers have their own "statistical survey": Three-fourths of a family's income, sometimes more, is spent on food. Aren't your figures too much of an "average"?

(Guryev) Yes, we use average figures. But if you take families with incomes of R80 per person per month, they actually spend 60 percent or more of their budget on food. Whereas families with incomes of R200 or more per person spend at most one-fourth of their incomes on food. Such families make up 14 percent of the population. Of course, each group has its own "market basket," and that "basket" may be the optimum or the bare minimum as regards its contents.

(Romanyuk) Nevertheless, how do we compare with other countries?

(Guryev) Let us try to compare the structure of family spending. We spend 4 percent of our income on housing and municipal services, a U.S. family spends 20 percent, and a West German family spends 25 percent. We spend more than one-third of our income on food, as I have already noted, the Americans spend 16 percent, and the West Germans 23 percent. Spending on nonfood goods is approximately identical. I am not talking about quality; that is a topic for separate discussion. In general, I must say that in the United States and a number of other countries the "market basket" is used to characterize changes in the cost of a certain constant standard of living—by calculating an index of prices for consumer goods and paid services. But the concept of services is far broader for them than for us.

(Romanyuk) The Goskomstat was once criticized for giving patently understated figures on the rise in prices. If we believe your estimates, the index of state retail prices from 1980 through 1987 rose by just 8 percent, including by 2 percent for food products.

(Guryev) We are prepared to confirm these calculations now, too; the calculations are right. It is a different matter that the index of average retail purchase prices has changed. It is well known, for example, that a certain proportion of products are sold via the consumer cooperative network at prices above the state price. The more products the population has acquired in those cooperative stores, the higher the average purchase prices will be.

(Romanyuk) What do the statistics tell us about people's real living standards?

(Guryev) First, this is national income, that part which is used for consumption. Sometimes in the press you see comments that our budget is virtually a wartime one: Too much goes to accumulation. In fact, the proportion of national income used for consumption in our country amounts to over 75 percent—4 percent higher than Japan and 10 percent higher than the PRC. It is true that in the United States they spend more on this than we do—82 percent of national income—and in the FRG it is 88 percent, Hungary—81 percent, Czechoslovakia—80 percent, and the GDR—79 percent.

But this indicator does not give the full picture. For a characterization of the living standard, you need to know the way the population's incomes are spent and how well families are provided with clothing, footwear, and cultural and consumer goods. In our country at the present time more than 15 percent of families have a per capita income of less than R75 per month (in 1970 that figure was 60 percent). There has been a considerable reduction in the number of people with low average per capita incomes in Belorussia and the Baltic republics—sevenfold—while in the RSFSR and the Ukraine there has been a fivefold reduction, and in Moldavia a fourfold reduction. About one-half of the population having an average per capita income of around R75 a month live in the Central Asian republics—Kazakhstan, and Azerbaijan—where large families predominate. I am not going to repeat the average figures for wages; they are widely publicized. I shall just note that a further 6 million people receive less than R80 a month. Around 30 percent of pensioners have a pension of R100 or more a month, but 40 percent receive less than R60.

(Romanyuk) That is virtually below the poverty line?

(Guryev) I cannot sat that because I do not have the statistics on where that "line" lies. The USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems in conjunction with the AUCCTU is now drawing up those indicators—the "subsistence minimum" and the "market basket"—without which we cannot objectively discuss Soviet people's standard of living. In the final analysis, we need a standard of living index in order to direct the growth of our prosperity and in certain circumstances to make adjustments to that process without allowing Soviet people's living standard to fall.

Solovyev Attends Leningrad Economic Conference

LD1401155589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 14 Jan 89

[Text] At a scientific and practical conference today in Leningrad, the problems and tasks of the further deepening of economic reform in the economy of the city and oblast were discussed. It was noted that the collective of the Sverdlov machine-building association last year managed to work off a debt of R17 million. This was possible thanks to a series of effective organizational and

economic measures. The "Zvezda" and "Istochnik" associations, the "Yegorov" works, and the "Elektropult" works overcame their shortage of working capital resources.

Party and soviet workers, scientists, managers of enterprises, and members of workers' councils spoke about the deepening of economic reform, the experiences they had in switching to financial autonomy and self-management, and the changes in economic thinking by the workers. Let us note that the whole economic complex of Leningrad and its oblast switched over from 1 January to the new conditions. A methodological center to give assistance and to coordinate action in switching over to full financial autonomy and self- financing has been founded. A regional system for the retraining of personnel so they can work under the conditions of the restructuring of the economic mechanism has been organized. At the same time, as the discussions showed, the experience of recent years has clearly shown the negative aspects of mastering economic methods.

Comrade Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad Obkom, spoke at the conference.

Scientific

18 Jan News Conference on 1-Year 'Mir' Mission

Military Applications Denied

LD1801180189 Moscow TASS in English 1501 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—A new technological module for the Soviet long-term orbital complex "Mir" will be launched in the first six months of 1989, Aleksandr Dunayev, head of the Chief Administration for the Development and Use of Space Engineering for the Economy and Research (Glavkosmos), told a news conference today.

The news conference held at the press centre of the USSR Foreign Ministry was devoted to the space flight of Soviet Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov that lasted a year and work in orbit of a Soviet-French international crew. The module of additional equipment will enable the crew—Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev and Valeriy Polyakov, now working on board the station, to obtain various samples of semiconductors in a greater volume than at present and also to obtain biological preparations.

Dwelling on questions of Soviet-French cooperation in outer space, Aleksandr Dunayev said that it will develop and gain momentum. And work will be conducted not only in the framework of scientific and technological cooperation, but also on a commercial basis. Manned flights on board the Soviet orbital station are planned to be made every two years within the next ten years.

A question about the book "Soviet Cosmonautics" brought out in the FRG was asked at the news conference. It is said, specifically, in that book that it will be possible to conduct work for military purposes with the use of modules that are planned to be linked up with "Mir" station in future. French cosmonaut Jean-Loup Chretien answered this question. "These words cannot be regarded otherwise than as a joke. I worked twice on board Soviet stations and can say with full responsibility that they are not meant for military purposes at all. Such statements also run counter to the overall policy of the USSR which declares for exclusively peaceful use of outer space", he said.

The future modules will enable people from different countries who are to work with Soviet cosmonauts on board the station to get convinced of the peaceful character of all the space programmes of the Soviet Union, said Vladimir Shatalov, chief of the cosmonauts training centre. Cosmonauts from 15 countries who already participated in joint programmes got convinced of this. Vladimir Titov who was commander of a year-long expedition in space, said that quite possibly a representative of the FRG will be able to see for himself what the Soviet orbital complex is like and what equipment it carries.

Space Research Director Replaced

LD1801180289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Excerpts] There was a news conference in Moscow today for Soviet and foreign journalists. It was devoted to the results of the longest-ever space flight and the outcome of the second Soviet-French mission. We present a recording of this press conference.

[Begin recording] [passage omitted] [Unidentified journalist] Is it true that Academician Roald Sagdeyev has retired, and if so why? I mean from the post of director of the Institute of Space Research.

[A.I. Dunayev, head of the USSR Main Administration for the Development and use of Space Engineering for the Economy and Research] It is probably not news here. Academician Sagdeyev had been director of the Institute of Space Research for a long time and it was he who asked to be released from this post. There were elections. Corresponding member (Galleyev) became director of the Institute of Space Research and Academician Sagdeyev is working in this institute, leading a large group of scientists who are working on systems analysis for space research. He has therefore not left active space work. [end recording]

Experiments, French Role Viewed

LD1801175288 Moscow TASS in English 1301 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—By TASS correspondents Vladimir Isachenkov and Rena Kuznetsova:

During their year-long flight aboard the Mir orbital complex, Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov held approximately 2,500 sessions of scientific experiments using 150 various methods, a news conference was told here on Wednesday. A wide-ranging programme of astrophysical, geophysical and medical research, technological and biotechnological experiments has been fully implemented.

"Our record-setting flight has underlined the reliability and high efficiency of Soviet space technology—the 'Mir' complex, transport spacecraft 'Soyuz TM' and cargo vehicles 'Progress'," said Vladimir Titov. "During our work in orbit we made three spacewalks. During the first one we installed a new section of solar batteries and during the others replaced a detector unit in one of the roentgen telescopes of the astrophysical modules 'Kvant'."

Speaking about the flight's scientific programme, Musa Manarov dwelled upon the observations, held from space in different seasons, of the more productive agricultural regions of the USSR. They wil have great significance for raising the yield of agricultural crops. The pollution of the atmosphere and water reservoirs was also checked. Under the programme of biotechnological research samples of genetically engineered interferon with the high degree of refinement were obtained and experiments on separating blood erythrocytes into fractions held.

During the flight Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov played host to three international crews with the participation of Bulgarian, Afghan and French cosmonauts. The Soviet-French flight became the longest international expedition. Over 23 days of work on board the Soviet orbital complex, five Soviet and a French cosmonaut carried out nine series of medico-biological and technological experiments.

French research cosmonaut Jean-Loup Chretien noted that the spacewalk was the most difficult part of the scientific programme of the French-Soviet flight. During the flight he and Aleksander Volkov were to carry out the installation and deployment of large-size framework structures of carbon tubes. Because of the technical problems, the spacewalk took six hours instead of the planned four hours and 20 minutes.

It was noted at the news conference that the record flight of Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov could be impossible without the permanent medical control and strict fulfillment of the programme of preventing the impact of zero-gravity. After the flight the cosmonauts rapidly adapted themselves to earth conditions. "Analyzing the state of Titov and Manarov we came to the conclusion that there have been no qualitative changes in their organisms as compared with the cosmonauts who spent less time in space flights," said Anatoliy Grigoryev, director of the Institute of Medico-Biological Problems of the USSR Health Ministry. "As of today there is no medical evidence to advise against longer flights."

Second Buran Shuttle Flight Anticipated

LD1801175689 Moscow TASS in English 1306 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 18 TASS—Now two versions are being contemplated: Will the second flight of the Buran shuttle be manned or unmanned? The final decision has not been taken up to this day, both versions have their advocates, Aleksander Dunayev, head of Glavkosmos (Chief Administration for the Development and Use of Space Engineering for the Economy and Research), told a press conference at the USSR Foreign Ministry.

It was devoted to the year-long mission of Soviet cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov and the work of the Soviet-French crew. The Glavkosmos head said that as soon as the final decision on the nature of the second flight is taken, pressmen would be informed of this.

'Mir' Cosmonauts Unload 'Progress-39' Equipment

LD1801185689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Cosmonauts Aleksandr Volkov, Sergey Krikalev, and Valeriy Polyakov continue their work in near-earth orbit. Today the crew is working on unloading the Progress-39 automatic craft and astrophysical experiments. According to telemetry data and crew reports, everything is fine on board the Mir orbital complex.

Military

Commander of Warsaw Pact Forces Reportedly Removed

AU1901100089 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 19 Jan 89 p 2

[Werner Stanzel report: "Gorbachev Retires the Chief of the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces"]

[Excerpt] Moscow—According to information that DER STANDARD received from reliable sources, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has removed Marshall Viktor Georgiyevich Kulikov, commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces, from his post and retired him. The official announcement of this measure is expected any time.

As our Moscow correspondent Marianne Sajdnik has reported from Moscow, the news of the retirement of the commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Pact Forces was assessed by a military spokesman as "a rumor with a substantive degree of truth" and has not been denied. [passage omitted]

Air Force's Pozdnyakov Explains Aircraft Cuts

PM1801124589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Jan 89 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Lieutenant General of Aviation A. Pozdnyakov, deputy chief of the Air Force Main Staff, by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel S. Levitskiy under the rubric "News: Facts, Events, Comments": "In Accordance With the Decision Unilaterally To Reduce the Soviet Armed Forces, 800 Aircraft Are To Be Decommissioned"; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] Our correspondent Lieutenant Colonel S. Levitskiy talks with Lieutenant General of Aviation A. Pozdnyakov, deputy chief of the Air Force Main Staff.

[Levitskiy] Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, it is generally hard for an uninitiated person to understand whether or not 800 military aircraft are a lot.

[Pozdnyakov] Eight hundred combat aircraft are the equivalent of the FRG and Belgian air forces combined, or one-fourth more than the number of British combat aircraft.

[Levitskiy] Some readers ask: Will the combat might of the Soviet Air Force not be reduced?

[Pozdnyakov] We believe that to resolve precisely defensive tasks, the remaining air grouping will be adequate for reliably protecting the air borders and, if necessary, repulsing aggression. Of course, it is possible to resolve tasks with fewer forces just by restructuring combat training and emphasizing its qualitative parameters. Additional measures are now being taken to improve the training of flying personnel and ground specialists and to enhance the reliability of aviation hardware. In short, it is a question of taking measures to achieve reasonable defense sufficiency. How the United States and the other NATO countries respond to our actions toward compromise will be very important.

[Levitskiy] But some people in the West still believe that with this reduction the Soviet Air Force will rid itself of obsolete hardware.

[Pozdnyakov] No, and again no. The combat aircraft to be reduced are not inferior but sometimes superior in terms of tactical and technical data to the corresponding types of machines in capitalist countries' air forces.

[Levitskiy] Which aircraft are being decommissioned?

[Pozdnyakov] Basically, those capable of making strikes against ground targets. But a certain number of aircraft will also be reduced in other categories of the Air Force. The share of fighter aircraft within the Air Force will increase.

[Levitskiy] What fate awaits the hardware that is to be reduced?

[Pozdnyakov] Some of the aircraft will be utilized. Certain machines in good condition may be taken apart for spare parts. As for the ground support facilities that will then be freed up, we will distribute among military airfields the items we have an acute need for and transfer to the national economy what will not be needed. If some of the airfields are not needed, soviets of people's deputies will have jurisdiction over their territory.

[Levitskiy] Many airmen have bitter memories of the reduction in the Air Force in the sixties....

[Pozdnyakov] I well remember that time. Although I was a young pilot, I was well aware of the ill-considered and hasty nature of the actions. They cut up aircraft with oxyacetylene torches and then could have kicked themselves: The hardware would have come in handy for sportsmen in DOSAAF flying clubs, in the national economy, or for spares.... Of course, measures were envisaged then to settle those transferred to the reserves into a new life. But those "measures" frequently went unimplemented. On the other hand, some of these people were sometimes of no use to anyone—there was no work in keeping with their trades and housing was not available.

Past mistakes must on no account be repeated. I confidently declare that the Air Force Main Staff has taken all social questions into account and efficiently planned their resolution. The chief thing is to exclude injustice.

In the Air Force almost all officers have received higher military and specialized training. Therefore, measures are being taken to keep and employ in the Air Force some of the cadres released as a result of the reduction, while those officers who complete their army service on grounds of age are honorably transferred to the reserve.